HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Will House Pass Strong Campus Unrest Bill?

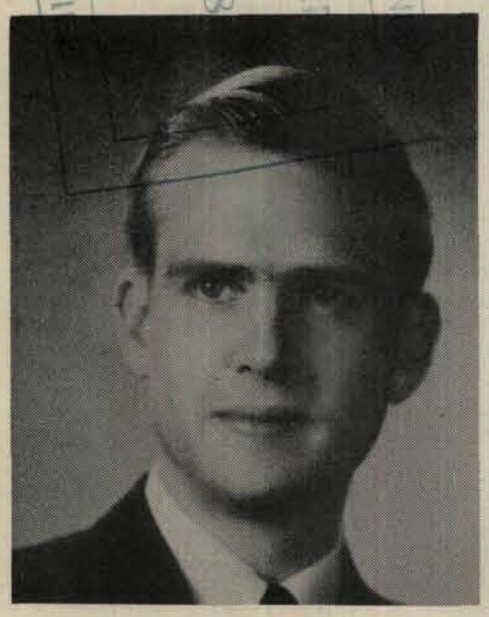
From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

At least two House members are ready and waiting to vigorously press bills cracking down on student disorders far more harshly than the measure narrowly shelved by the Education and Labor Committee.

Sponsors of these tough bills are Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa), and William Harsha (R.-Ohio).

In addition, Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), author of the pigeonholed "moderate" measure, intends to offer it "as the parlimentary situation permits" as an amendment to some other bill on the floor of the House. Undeterred by her setback in the committee, of which she is second-ranking member, Mrs. Green is determined to put her legislation directly up to the House for a showdown vote.

Scherle and Harsha are equally resolved to force House action on their rigorous bills.



Three liberal Republicans who flip-flopped and ended up opposing Mrs. Green's mild student crackdown bill are Representatives William Steiger (Wis.), Marvin Esch (Mich.) and Ogden Reid (N.Y.). Steiger and Reid are believed to have further political ambitions in their home states.

Four Scherle amendments aimed at campus disturbances already have been overwhelmingly approved by the House. Two were enacted into law by the last Congress. He is preparing other proposals in the firm belief that Congress is in no mood to tolerate more student disorders.

"All my amendments were adopted by the House by large margins," said Scherle. "It is very evident that both Congress and the public at large want forceful action in this field. The problem with the liberal element on the Education and Labor Committee that resisted all attempts to instill some order and discipline on the nation's campuses is similar to what ails many college administrators today.

"The liberals and the administrators apparently are unable or incapable of understanding that the American taxpayer, who is supporting education and these student rioters and demonstrators, does not intend to further tolerate the mindless revolutionary antics of these radicals, malcontents and agitators."

Rep. Harsha's bill is toughest of all. It would automatically shut off government funds to any college afflicted with a student or faculty strike, disorder or property seizure. The exact language of this iron-fisted measure is as follows:

"The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare shall forthwith suspend financial assistance to any institution of higher education at which, by reason of violent demonstrations, riots, seizure of property, student and/or faculty strike, or other disorders, there is a substantial disruption of the administration of the institution or students, teachers or officials are prevented from pursuing their studies or duties."

Behind the scenes, there is a great deal of support in the House for the Harsha measure. There is every likelihood that if the chamber gets a chance to vote on it, it will be passed.

Harsha, second-ranking Republican member of the Public Works Committee, is now firmly determined that there will be a vote on his crackdown bill.

It was to avoid that that Mrs. Green's measure was offered as a "moderate" compromise. Her proposal would require colleges to adopt approved codes of student conduct to obtain government funds. Failure to submit such formulas would bar federal assistance.

Now that her bill has been junked by the Education and Labor Committee, after several months of tortuous bickering and maneuvering, it is virtually certain that far tougher legislation will be approved by the House.

Committee insiders attribute the scuttling of Mrs. Green's bill to three Republicans, two of them secret gubernatorial aspirants, and one Democrat, as follows:

• Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.) chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, who strongly encouraged Mrs. Green to offer her measure. But at the last moment, in the closed-door committee meeting, he switched and sided with the opposition. He has given no reason for this abrupt about-face.

• Rep. William Steiger (R.-Wis.) who co-sponsored the Green bill and supported it until shortly before the final backstage vote. Serving his second term in Congress, Steiger, 31, is politically ambitious and has his eye on the Wisconsin governorship. Like Perkins, Steiger has made no explanation for his somersault on the Green measure.

• Rep. Marvin Esch (R.-Mich.), another co-sponsor of the Green bill. His executive session flip-flop is credited to pressure from officials and faculty members of the University of Michigan, which is in his district.

• Rep. Ogden Reid (R.-N.Y.), former publisher of the defunct New York *Herald-Tribune*. A wealthy socialite, Reid is closely allied with the GOP faction that supported Mayor John Lindsay—who lost the party nomination in last month's primary. Following the assassination of Sen. Robert Kennedy, Reid strenuously sought the appointment to his seat. But Gov. Rockefeller gave the prize to then upstate Rep. Charles Goodell—much to Reid's annoyance. In political quarters he is considered an aspirant for either governor or senator "as opportunity presents."

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Indiana's Whitcomb Off to Good Start

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The Foolish Campaign Against the Pentagon

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Capital Briefs

● Dr. **S.I. Hayakawa,** who has just been elected to the presidency of strife-torn San Francisco State College, has decided to run for the U.S. Senate. A self-styled liberal, despite his hard-line approach to student dissidents, Hayakawa has passed the word to Democratic leaders that he wants to oppose Republican Sen. George Murphy next fall. Hayakawa is certain to have intra-party opposition—the left wing despises him, with Reps. John Tunney, George Brown and Phil Burton already interested in the nomination—but most Democratic leaders agree that the tough-talking educator would be their strongest candidate.

● Good news for conservatives: **Roger A. Freeman,** a senior staff member of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University since 1962, has been selected as a special assistant to the President. A man with strong conservative views on such matters as education and welfare, Freeman will work with the highly influential Dr. Arthur F. Burns, the counselor to the President, in developing the Administration's domestic programs. Several of Freeman's articles have appeared in Human Events, with one on education due to appear in a forthcoming issue.

● Rep. **Alphonzo Bell** (R.-Calif.), who has been a stalwart supporter of the liberal Republican faction in the House, is now telling his colleagues to "turn to the right." Bell, according to friends, is so scared of what he views as a conservative trend in the country that he's now rapidly trying to revamp his own "liberal image" by lining up with conservative Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee.

● Texas Sen. John Tower, chairman of the Senate GOP Campaign Committee, predicts a net GOP gain of **ten Senate seats** in the 1970 balloting, a pickup that would give the party a 53 to 47 majority. At least 15 Democrats are vulnerable, Tower says, with only "one or two" Republicans in any kind of trouble.

● **Eugene McCarthy** (D.-Minn.) told intimates as recently as last week that he's still interested in taking a fling at the 1970 senatorial race in New York. Charles Goodell, the moderate Republican turned radical, now holds the seat. Before making any definitive move, however, McCarthy says he must first resolve some personal problems.

● A defense of the **Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system,** prepared by 12 top scientists at the prestigious Hudson Institute, will be published this month. Herman Kahn, director of the New York 'think tank', says the book, "Why ABM," was prompted by the feelings of many scientists that public discussion of ABM has been extremely one-sided.

● With White Middle-Class Guilt Feelings sticking out in lumps, the Washington Square United Methodist Church of Greenwich Village, New York, dutifully handed a check for $15,000 to **James Forman,** the pro-Marxist revolutionary who as head of the Black Economic Development Conference, is demanding $500 million in "reparations" from white church groups. Forman, who presumably knows whereof he speaks, claims that the Nixon Administration is seeking to indict him on one of several possible charges, including extortion or conspiracy. Forman's hot-headed demands for guerrilla warfare in this country are being closely scrutinized by the Justice Department.

● Law enforcement officials have testified that **militant black nationalist groups** receive much of their capital from illegal operations—a theory that gained additional credibility last week in Los Angeles. There, the number two man in the revolutionary US organization was convicted of bank robbery. James (Tayari) Doss, chief lieutenant of US boss Ron Karenga, was convicted of taking more than $17,500 from a local bank last January.

● In making its first direct criticism of President Nixon's planned trip to "dissident" **Communist Rumania,** the Soviet Union has used an editorial from—the "New York Times." The weekly foreign affairs magazine "Za Rubezhom," in challenging the President's visit, boxed three paragraphs of the Times' editorial, including the Times charge that the journey "seems almost a deliberate provocation."

● The White House aroused the ire of the Young Republicans last February when it appointed **William B. Mullins,** to head the Administration's "youth division," but the YRs are reported to be happier now. Mullins is known to be on his way out, and, it is hoped, the President will replace him with a Young Republican regular.

● Conservatives on Capitol Hill were miffed at all the press criticism hurled at President Nixon and conservative lawmakers over the Knowles affair. They point out that Dr. **Roger O. Egeberg,** Nixon's nominee for the HEW post sought by Knowles, is a liberal Democrat, and that it was solely HEW Secretary Robert Finch's belief that he could override the wishes of those in top circles of the medical profession and the Republican leadership in Congress that precipitated the embarrassing situation.

● In recent testimony before a House Appropriations subcommittee, FBI Director **J. Edgar Hoover** declared the "question of foreign influences in the black nationalist movement is a matter of grave concern to the FBI" and informed House members that Cuba appears to be playing an important role. Hoover maintained that information "has come to our attention that Negroes are being trained in Cuba for infiltration into the United States. This is particularly important when viewed in the light of open support given during several recent international Communist conferences held in Havana to the concept of armed insurrection by black power advocates and other black extremist groups in the United States."

● Sen. **George S. McGovern** (D.-S.D.) has endorsed a proposal that has been advanced in the past by many conservatives: party realignment along liberal-conservative lines. The 1968 Democratic presidential contender, who heads a special committee on Democratic party reform, made his remarks in an interview on the "Meet the Press" television show.

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Conservatives to the Fore

Already shaken by the President's decision on the ABM, the Knowles affair and the desegregation guidelines, the liberals in the Nixon Administration are now in a state of semi-panic. For there is considerable worry on their part that hard-core conservatives are definitely in a state of ascendancy when it comes to wielding political influence. While the conservatives do not yet have a permanent grip on the reins of government, there is no question but that their influence has been rising at a rapid rate. Consider, for instance, the recent elevation of the following persons to important positions:

• J. Fred Buzhardt. A former key aide to Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), Buzhardt has become a top adviser and speech writer to Defense Secretary Melvin Laird. A West Point graduate who also posted a brilliant academic record in law school, Buzhardt has long been one of the prime movers in helping to persuade the government to go ahead with the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile defense. In recent weeks, Buzhardt, to the great anger of many liberals, was selected as the chief staff assistant to a blue ribbon commission which is expected to make crucial recommendations on Pentagon reorganization.

• Roger A. Freeman. A senior staff member of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University since 1962, Freeman will serve on the staff of Dr. Arthur F. Burns to help develop domestic programs for the Administration. Freeman is known to have conservative views on both education and welfare matters.

• Harry Dent. Another former top aide to Sen. Thurmond, Dent has become the President's chief political adviser at the White House. Insiders report that he has been instrumental in packing a right-wing punch into recent Administration decisions.

• Thomas C. Reed. California's Republican National Committeeman and a key operative in Ronald Reagan's 1966 gubernatorial and 1968 presidential campaigns, Reed will be a top assistant to Dent.

• Lyn Nofziger. Soon to be assigned permanently as first rank assistant to White House Congressional lobbyist Bryce Harlow, Nofziger was formerly Ronald

Lyn Nofziger, right, accompanied Gov. Ronald Reagan during the latter's political bids. Another Reagan backer, Tom Reed, will also join the White House staff.

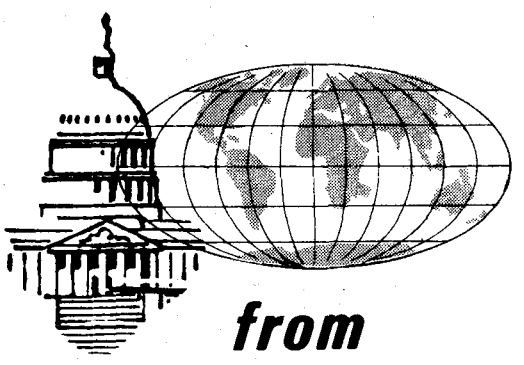
Reagan's press secretary and is now an independent political consultant in Sacramento. The onetime national political correspondent for the conservative Copley newspapers, Nofziger left Reagan's staff last year to help manage Max Rafferty's unsuccessful campaign for the U.S. Senate.

Nor is this all that disturbs the liberals. Nixon's White House advisers, particularly Dent and Peter Flanigan, have been greatly stepping up the pressures on agency heads to stack their departments with solid Republicans and to start evacuating Democrats. Notes from the White House to the agencies have been "tough and nasty," according to several informed sources.

Even more alarming, so far as the liberals are concerned, is the Nixon Administration's urgent effort to woo the South. Not only has the President extended the deadline for school desegregation compliance in the South, but the voting rights proposals presented by Atty. Gen. John Mitchell are highly conciliatory toward Dixie. Under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, for instance, southern states affected by the act must clear all proposed election laws, state and local, with either the attorney general or a federal court in Washington before they can go into effect. This aspect would be completely eliminated by the Administration offering.

What has not yet been reported, in fact, is that Mitchell was willing to go much further in pleasing the South. Before unveiling the Administration's new civil rights proposal, Mitchell had cancelled five previously scheduled appearances before the House Judiciary Committee. The reason: Mitchell had actually drafted proposals to re-establish the use of literacy tests in the South—to be fair and impartially administered—but the Supreme Court's June 2 ruling

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

(*Gaston County vs. U.S.*) threw a monkey wrench into that package by strongly suggesting that the court believes all literacy tests to be unconstitutional.

As a result, Mitchell switched plans and decided to call for the elimination of literacy tests around the country—thus anticipating what he believes the High Court will eventually decide and revealing to the South that he does not intend to single it out for punishment.

Even the recent flurry of threatened and actual school desegregation suits brought by the Justice Department in southern states is viewed as a peace offering to Dixie. For the Administration now appears to be relying far more on court enforcement of desegregation than on punitive fund cut-offs by the executive.

As if this were not enough to cause trepidation in liberal ranks, Kevin Phillips, an assistant to Mitchell and author of the newly published *The Emerging Republican Minority,* has been arranging to boost his book on national television shows. A main thrust of Phillips' thesis is that the GOP should turn to the right and start shopping for votes below the Mason-Dixon line. So far, the administration has not put up any roadblock to prevent Phillips from pushing his controversial book.

All this, of course, does not mean the conservatives are firmly in the saddle, as a number of recent Administration decisions make obvious. But, clearly, the conservatives are riding higher than they ever have before.

Panetta's Civil Rights Role

Leon E. Panetta, Robert Finch's personal choice as director of HEW's office of civil rights, is turning into a major liberal force in the Nixon Administration. The ex-aide to Sen. Thomas Kuchel, who is known as a primary source for liberal columnists, recently tried to rally GOP senators against Nixon's decision to ease the desegregation guidelines. Panetta made his pitch at a July 1 meeting of senatorial aides in the old Senate Office Building.

Called by an assistant to Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.), with invitations going to liberals only, the conclave was attended by assistants to such GOP senators as Ed Brooke (Mass.), Clifford Case (N.J.), Jacob Javits (N.Y.), Charles Goodell (N.Y.), Richard Schweiker (Pa.), Scott (Pa.), Charles Mathias (Md.) and Marlow Cook (Ky.).

Panetta's ostensible purpose was to explain the status of the new school desegregation guidelines. His real purpose, however, was to report that Nixon was yielding to southern influences and that senatorial pressures were needed to revise the President's thinking on such matters. Panetta's tone was considered "patronizing" toward the President. He urged the assistants to get their senators to bombard the White House with protests.

Panetta's warnings were apparently not wasted. While the President finally granted an extension of the September 1969 deadline for school districts to desegregate, the joint Finch-Mitchell policy statement that was issued on July 3 was far softer in tone than the original one that had been prepared. Indeed, if it had not been for Panetta, many believe the policy statement, filled with confusing rhetoric, would have been far more "southern-oriented" than was actually the case.

YRs Battle in Chicago

Last week's Young Republican National Convention in Chicago produced mixed results, featuring a surprising turn toward liberalism by key leaders formerly considered part of the conservative "Syndicate."

Observers at the YR gathering were puzzled by the insistence of YR Chairman, Jack McDonald, elected in 1967 as a supposedly strong conservative, on pushing through a platform slanted to the left in crucial places. The document, which uses many phrases that echo the rhetoric of the "New Left," was reportedly pressed on the YRs by elements from the senior party.

Apparently disintegration of the "Syndicate" was also suggested by the outcome of the only major disputed race, the contest for treasurer between conservative Jim Staples of Georgia and Tom Little of Delaware, who, although himself a moderate, was supported by liberal elements from New York and elsewhere. Little won by a narrow 18-vote margin, chiefly because key members of the former "Syndicate" leadership gave him their backing.

In other contests, Ron Romans of Nebraska, chosen at a previous caucus of conservative forces as their nominee, was elected national chairman without opposition. Linda McQuaig of New Jersey, an outspoken conservative, was elected co-chairman, also unopposed. Rob Pollock of Louisiana, an articulate young conservative spokesman, was chosen as national college chairman.

The platform battle was the most bitterly fought and left a large number of conservatives smoldering at the willingness of the "Syndicate" leadership to tailor YR policies to a liberal pattern suggested by the senior party. Muzzling conservative YR statements on issues has been a major objective of GOP liberals like Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.) and others.

The statement adopted in Chicago is a curious mixture of generalities about voluntarism, which conservatives did not find particularly objectionable, and verbiage which could easily pass as New Left propaganda. One plank suggests, for example, that college curricula should be adjusted to "compensate for the deficiencies of those who do not have the background to step immediately into a university or college."

Another plank asserts, again in New Left-style language, that American society has violated its ideals about equal opportunity and that the "hypocrisy which exists in our country today must end if we are to prevent continued turmoil and ultimate chaos. A substantial number of Americans have lost faith in our political system due to discrimination, economic oppression, alienation, loss of identity, poverty, hunger and racism."

McDonald and other YR officials, including platform committee chairman Robert List of Nevada, turned down all efforts to change or amend this document both in committee and on the floor. A conservative-substituted platform was defeated on a straight organization vote and

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efforts to amend from the floor were similarly blocked.

The platform was apparently mandated by elements of the senior party. Dr. Joel Fisher, a former Republican National Committee functionary, now a White House staff member, participated in platform committee meetings and assisted in drafing the document. Committee chairman List barred delegates and press from attending platform sessions, but permitted Fisher, not a platform committee member or even a convention delegate, to take a key role in the deliberations.

With the leadership pressure off on Friday afternoon and the candidate in-fighting out of the way, however, the natural conservatism of the Young Republican rank-and-file resurfaced in a series of hard-hitting resolutions—all passed, by the way, while California table grapes were being distributed on the floor. Among them were resolutions that:

• Obviously slapped at John Lindsay and his supporters—although politely omitting their names—for their refusal to abide by the results of the recent New York City primary.

• Urged an end to all aid to and trade with nations assisting North Viet Nam and advocated a "physical and economic blockade" of the seacoast of North Viet Nam.

• Called for the President "to successfully and honorably terminate this Viet Nam conflict through victory."

• Applauded the appointment of Chief Justice Warren Burger and urged that future appointments be drawn from like-minded men.

• Called for an end to federal urban renewal programs.

House Hits Taxpayers Again

By a 210-to-162 vote, the House of Representatives last week passed a bill to give $12.5 million more of the taxpayers' money to complete the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, a huge structure that sits only half finished on the Potomac.

The bill approved increased direct appropriations from Congress for the Kennedy Center—dubbed "this pleasure palace" by Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa)—from $15.5 million to $23 million, a rise of $7.5 million. The measure also increased the amount of bonds authorized to be issued to pay for the center's parking facilities—from $15.4 million to $20.4 million, a rise of $5 million.

Originally conceived as a privately funded venture, the idea of a cultural center in the Nation's Capital was first advanced during the Eisenhower Administration. Legislation granting use of federal land for such a project was passed in 1958, with the expressed stipulation that no government funds were to be used and that the land-grant act would expire if private monies had not been raised in five years. In 1963, a three-year extension to the fund-raising period was granted—again with solemn promises that no congressional funds would have to be appropriated.

In 1964 Congress changed the name of the National Cultural Center to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts—and this time appropriated $15.5 million for it with solemn assurances that the Center would not have to dip into the public till ever again. But last week the House voted an additional $12.5 million.

Recalling the solemn promises by Reps. Frank Thompson (D.-N.J.), Jim Wright (D.-Tex.) and others that the memorial would never cost the taxpayer a cent, Rep. Gross began the debate on the funding of the Kennedy Center this way:

"To the new members of this body, may I say 'welcome' to what has become the regularly scheduled fleecing of the American taxpayer by the promoters of that white elephant on the banks of the Potomac, The John F. Kennedy Cultural Center. . . .

"In view of the financial situation that confronts the citizens of this country and in view of the deception and broken promises that have marked this Treasury raiding, I submit that it takes an uncommon amount of gall for the Public Works Committee to even bring this proposal to the House floor."

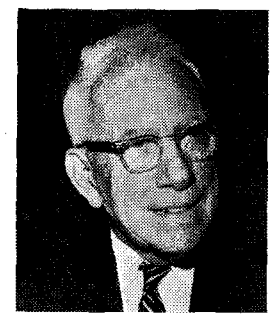
Rep. Charlotte Reid (R.-Ill.) remarked: "Today we are being asked to increase the direct appropriations to $23 million and the bond authorization to $20.4 million. Furthermore, there is no proof that this will be the last request for building funds or that yearly appropriations for the operation of the Center—once built—will not be requested.

". . .I would strongly urge that this bill be sent back to the committee for further study of alternative means of financing other than through public tax subsidies. If this bill passes and the money is appropriated, about two-thirds of the present estimated cost will have been paid by taxpayers."

Nevertheless, the House ignored these arguments and sent the bill to the Senate for approval. The roll call revealing how your congressman voted on this spending issue is listed on page 15.

Aiken Torpedoing Safeguard

White House sources maintained last week that GOP Sen. George Aiken's momentous decision not to back the President's proposed Safeguard anti-ballistic missile program in its present form does not necessarily mean there will have to be a compromise, but this optimistic note apparently hinges on whether the ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee can swing over fellow Vermonter Winston Prouty and other waverers. If Aiken can persuade doubters to his side, it is contended, the Administration will have to retreat to a fallback position, possibly such as the one offered by Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D.-N.H.).


AIKEN

The McIntyre proposal would permit the Army to deploy radar and electronic equipment at the first two planned Safeguard stations in Montana and North Dakota, the only two sites involved in the first year. But it would not allow for the production and deployment of the actual missiles for the sites or the creation of the missile silos.

McIntyre insists his "compromise" would permit the option to deploy substantially on the President's schedule should Congress decide next year to authorize full deployment. But experts disagree. They point out that any delay in the building of the silos might set back deployment by at least a year. Furthermore, McIntyre, himself, acknowledges there "would be a delay of. . .four to five months in the completion of the Grand Forks site. . . ."

While the Administration remains officially optimistic, the Aiken decision is clearly a grave setback to the President's plan to get his Safeguard ABM program into operation.

A defeat—or even a major compromise—would damage the U.S. militarily and diplomatically, seriously undercutting the White House's plans to negotiate with the Soviets.

Ironically, Aiken's retreat on the Safeguard came the day after Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.) detailed Soviet Russia's growing nuclear capabilities, and revealed that firm evidence shows that the Soviets have more than 230 SS-9s operational or under construction and that if they continue to deploy additional missiles at the same rate as in the past few years, U.S. Minuteman retaliatory forces would be clearly vulnerable.

Jackson also argued: "Phase I of Safeguard is, in effect, a prototype installation that will enable the Defense Department to complete engineering, installation and shakedown and tests and to have two stations fully operative by 1974.

"If we delay the decision for about a year, as some propose, the soonest these sites could be ready for complete checkout would be in 1976. This would leave us with no option to provide active defense for the essential portion of our Minuteman force on the schedule that may be necessary if we do not reach agreement with the Soviets on limiting or reducing strategic forces. There is obviously no substitute for time."

Added the Washington military expert: "Some of the campaigners against ABM deployment argue that before deciding to proceed with deployment we should negotiate with the Russians. Why either one or the other? Why not both?

"If we do not have our ABM system moving along, what inducement is there for the Soviets to negotiate with us on a freeze or a reduction in their ABM deployment? Can anyone seriously maintain that Moscow will agree to limit its ABMs if we now, unilaterally, abandon deployment of our ABMs? Nothing in the record of negotiations on control of arms suggests that this would be the way to have a successful negotiation with the Soviets."

The Vermont Republican, however, chose not to see it Jackson's way—thus endangering America's diplomatic and military posture vis-a-vis the Soviets.

• Though many diplomatic experts believe that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's suggestions before the Supreme Soviet last week indicates the Kremlin's leaders are interested in a summit meeting with the United States, others interpret Gromyko's remarks as a direct attempt to influence U.S. senators against ABM. By supposedly revealing his "sweetness and light" side, it is said, Gromyko hoped to persuade a number of senators that Moscow is really mellowing and that a vote for the ABM might jeopardize U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations.

The 'Chicago 8'

Those eight radical leaders indicted by a federal grand jury for conspiring to promote a riot during the 1968 Democratic National Convention have decided to turn their September 24 trial into a national protest movement. The "Chicago 8," who also call themselves "The Conspiracy," include Tom Hayden, one of the New Left's top theoreticians; Rennie Davis and David Dellinger of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MOB); Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, self-styled non-leaders of the Yippies; Bobby Seale, national chairman of the Black Panthers; and two unknowns, John Forines and Lee Weiner. To stir up attention across the country, the eight plan to:

• Summon a "people's tribunal" about the time of the trial to be composed of "major figures from this country and abroad" to hear testimony on alleged political repression and social ills of the United States. Rennie Davis, a spokesman for "The Conspiracy," declined to name members of the tribunal but promised they would be "both significant and spectacular."

• Convene a national conference in New York to discuss the history of "political repression" in the United States and the roles played by radicals and liberals during this period.

• Announce plans later for street demonstrations during the trial.

• Stage a national fund-raising drive, timed to coincide with the SDS Chicago convention of last week.

• "The Conspiracy" has already been holding benefits to raise money for the defense, with the programs often featuring revolutionaries, Black Panthers and members of the Fugs, a rock group that enjoys condemning American society in obscene song.

A national organization called the Committee to Defend the Conspiracy has also been organized to raise funds. The 18 organizers include Dr. Benjamin Spock, Norman Mailer, Conor Cruise O'Brien, Susan Sontag, I.F. Stone, Michael Harrington and Nat Hentoff.

To defend themselves against the conspiracy charge, "The Conspiracy" has retained some of the top radical-left lawyers in the country. Leading the field for the defense team is William Kunstler, whose recent clients have included H. Rap Brown and the "New York 21"—members of the Black Panthers under indictment for conspiring to blow up five Manhattan department stores. Also to play a leading role is Arthur Kinoy, a chief defender of those appearing before the House Committee on Internal Security.

Other members of the defense team are: Michael Kennedy and Gerald Lefcourt, members of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which has been

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cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization; and Charles Garry, a 60-year-old Californian whose No. 1 client at present is Huey P. Newton, "Minister of Defense" of the Black Panther party. Black Panther "Minister of Information" Eldridge Cleaver, who recently beat it to Havana rather than surrender to the state for parole violation, was also one of Garry's clients. In short, the famous "Battle of Chicago," as the demonstrators like to call their protest movement at the Democratic National Convention, is not yet over.

• U.S. security experts are particularly irritated that the State Department has permitted David T. Dellinger, one of the "Chicago 8" under indictment, to travel to Paris, on the invitation of the North Vietnamese delegation to the peace talks, to arrange the release of U.S. prisoners being held in Hanoi. Hanoi, they argue, called upon Dellinger for the purpose of transforming him into a "hero" when the prisoners are released, thus building up a sympathetic reaction to him in the U.S. and harming any chance for his conviction. The State Department, say diplomatic observers, should have told Hanoi that Dellinger was under indictment and couldn't travel abroad.

Harvard's Pusey Scored

Sen. John McClellan's subcommittee's investigation into campus disorders took a new turn last week with the scorching testimony of a Harvard graduate student and teaching fellow named J.C. Helms. While Harvard President Nathan Pusey sat in the hearing room waiting his turn to testify, student Helms charged Pusey, his administrative assistants and the Harvard faculty with open capitulation to campus disruptors and cavalier disregard for moderate advocates of badly-needed university reforms.

"The main problem at Harvard is not SDS," Helms stated. "The main problem is the Harvard administration and faculty: their leniency, their blindness and their cowardice."

In his day-long appearance before the McClellan subcommittee (Pusey never did get a chance to testify), Helms catalogued numerous instances of alleged administration weakness in the face of disruption by Harvard radicals:

• On November 7, 1966, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, visiting the campus for a speaking engagement, was forcibly prevented from leaving by a mob of anti-Viet Nam demonstrators, led by Harvard SDS members. Afterwards, President Pusey proclaimed there would be no punishment whatsoever for "any kind of political activity or demonstration."

• In October, 1967, a crowd of some 300 student radicals held a recruiter for the Dow Chemical Company a virtual prisoner for seven hours. Although the students had been threatened with expulsion when they did not free the Dow representative, the punishment —when it finally did come—consisted only of 74 students being placed on probation and 171 others being mildly admonished for their participation. (Later five of the 74 participated in another disruption and were put on "suspended suspension," a novel punishment amounting to no more than continued probation.)

• In April 1969, five students were found guilty of assault and battery during still another disturbance, but were given only suspensions of two years or less.

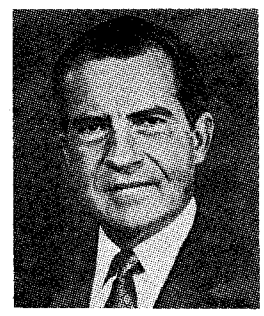
Moreover, during most of the same time period, Helms pointed out, moderate forces on the Harvard campus were trying, quietly and properly, to bring about university reforms. For six years, he noted, the Harvard student government had been attempting to obtain a voice on only one faculty committee, without success. Yet, after the violent SDS-led student disruptions this spring, students were given representation on all faculty committees.

Also, as late as last March the president of the student government asked President Pusey if he might speak with the administrator about student problems for thirty minutes each month. When Pusey pleaded lack of time, the student leader cut his request to fifteen minutes once a month. No, Pusey said, he didn't even have time for that. Yet, after continued threats of force and disruption, an SDS member was permitted to speak for seven minutes at Harvard's commencement exercises last June.

"What is annoying here," said student activist Helms, "is not that an SDS member got to speak at commencement, although he had not been scheduled. What is annoying is that others, who are more representative of students at Harvard, but are also more polite and more moderate in their manner, do not get the same opportunity. Again and again, we are taught at Harvard that if you want to be heard, you must be rude, aggressive and pushy, and that if you want changes made, it is best to use force."

Nixon's Possible Blunder

While a number of Soviet experts believe that President Nixon's upcoming trip to Communist Romania is a bold diplomatic stroke that might help to further separate Moscow from its satellites, there are many who wonder whether the game is worth the candle.


NIXON

The Romanian visit, for instance, has had the effect of demoting West German Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger below Romania's Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu. The White House has now asked Kiesinger to postpone his planned trip to Washington three times. Originally scheduled for June, Kiesinger's trip was moved back to late July at the White House request. This, too, was postponed because it would conflict with the Apollo 11 moon shot. The trip was finally set for August 4 and 5. Then, because of Nixon's impending journey to Bucharest, he asked the Chancellor to wait again.

In contrast, it is pointed out, the President is courting Ceausecsu, who, despite his differences with Moscow, runs a brutal, Stalinesque dictatorship. Ceausescu, further, signed at the recent Communist summit meeting in Moscow the final document condemning the United States as "the aggressor in Viet Nam" and calling for Communist and progressive governments to actively disrupt U.S. troop movement sand supplies.

Aside from the President's possible bolstering of a Stalinist regime, some Republican legislators question the wisdom of Nixon's being out of the country while Congress is debating the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) program and the extension of the 10 per cent surtax, two cornerstones of the Administration's defense and economic policies. A defeat of either of these measures would be disastrous for him. Thus the worry that the Nixon trip may very well be a most ill-timed journey.

Egeberg—Another Knowles?

HEW Secretary Robert Finch received a hard setback when he couldn't ram Dr. John Knowles down the throats of the GOP, but the liberal secretary is known to be almost as pleased with his second choice for the Nation's chief health officer: Dr. Roger Egeberg.

EGEBERG

The broad-shouldered, jovial Dr. Egeberg, who was once Gen. Douglas MacArthur's personal physician and aide-de-camp, holds virtually the same views on medicine as the terrible-tempered Knowles—and may even lean slightly more to port. Unlike Knowles, for instance, who calls himself a Republican—despite his recent attacks on Richard Nixon—Dr. Egeberg considers himself a liberal Democrat.

In appearing before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee last week, Egeberg indicated his own activist approach to health care when he talked of "exploring" the potential of "comprehensive health care" for everyone.

Ever since he became dean of the University of Southern California's School of Medicine, Dr. Egeberg's bias toward government medicine has been showing. In this post, he fought the AMA's opposition to Medicare, urged statewide comprehensive insurance for all California residents, proposed that public funds supplement private insurance payments by the poor and clashed with the Reagan Administration's efforts to replace public health doctors on the state's board of health with private physicians.

Dr. Bronson S. Ray, head of Cornell University's neurosurgery department and a long-time friend of Egeberg, remarked: "Roger is a liberal. He's for any kind of change that might shake things up a bit."

While most observers agree that medical costs these days are incredibly high, the big question is whether massive federal intervention into the field is any sort of cure. After all, it is being pointed out, Medicaid, though designed to aid the poor, is actually impoverishing the taxpayer and becoming a bonanza for unethical doctors—which government medicine always appears to attract. If Egeberg tries to push the government into similar ventures, the taxpayer—if not the American Medical Association—may very well be calling for the return of Dr. Knowles.

A Novel Form of Torture

Capitol Hill politicos were much amused last week by a letter to the Washington *Post*—written by frequent *Human Events* contributor John Lofton—that poked fun at liberal historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Lofton commented on the recently revealed fact that Schlesinger's dovish views on Viet Nam are being used to brainwash American prisoners of war in Hanoi.

"One never really knows," Lofton remarked, "how one would behave as a captive of the enemy until one is a captive of the enemy. But I have always thought I might stand up pretty well. Or at least I used to think that.

"I say I used to think, because a recent Associated Press dispatch in your paper quoting two American POWs in Hanoi has revealed a new and heretofore unspoken form of torture, namely the piping into cells over a loudspeaker of various propaganda broadcasts featuring among other individuals Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

"Now being buried alive up to the neck in an anthill and having one's face smeared with jelly is one thing; but being administered periodic doses of Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and never really knowing when they will come is something else again.

"Turn it off! Turn it off! I'll talk! I'll sign!"

Pruning the Peace Corps

Peace Corps Director Joseph Blatchford is getting the reputation of being a "no-nonsense" boss as a result of economies that he has effected in his own agency. In his first week of duty, Blatchford virtually eliminated the office of volunteer services with 66 jobs—saving approximately $1,057,000 annually.

Since then, the Peace Corps chieftain has decided to prune the Corps' top-heavy administrative staff, which includes 900 persons in the U.S. alone, 700 of these in the Nation's Capital. Blatchford plans to reduce his budget by following the recommendations of McKinsey Co., a nationally known management consultant firm that he has brought in to advise him. The company has called for a general reorganizing of the agency, with far fewer departments and a drastic cutback in the number of current administrative personnel.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of **"Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?"**, the four-page article by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward which appeared in the May 24, 1969, issue of **Human Events.** Single copies 35¢; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

Also available because of popular demand, is the two-page article by Al Capp, **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant. . .Then Too Cowardly".** Single copies 30¢; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

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On-the-Scene Report

Red Negotiators Content to Sit and Wait

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Paris:—Impeccable revelations obtained here regarding the Viet Nam peace talks include several unrevealed surprises. No matter how these contradict reports, and must be unattributable, and no matter how they cross up all assumptions, they are the actual, bedrock facts—the truth with a capital *T*.

First, contrary to what some believe, there are no secret negotiations with the enemy going on anywhere. The sand in the glass has turned; the hour is passed. Absolutely nothing substantive is being discussed through intermediaries in Warsaw, Moscow, Hanoi, Hong Kong or any place else.

Ho Chi Minh refused nearly a thousand "peace feelers"—39 listed as major inside our own State Department—before he consented to even the preliminary talks that began here May 13, 1968. And even on Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's return here from the Midway conference and Washington session with President Nixon, arrogant Ha Van Lau, acting chief of the Hanoi delegation, reminded our representatives "how lucky you are" because at the 1951 truce talks the Red North Koreans required our delegates to arrive at Kaesong with a white flag and then to sit on chairs with shorter legs. "Those talks took 15 months," he smiled.

Ha Van Lau's face features full-blooded lips and a few scattered teeth as solid as fangs. And while our Viet Nam dead lay siege to our hearts he looks at our negotiators with cold, mean eyes and as objectively as a butcher's knife, and has the sort of wrinkles under those eyes which come when you have smiled cynically about ten million times.

North Korean officers, at right, listen impassively as U.S. negotiators deliver a formal protest against the seizure of the USS Pueblo.

Continuing, Ha Van Lau told our representatives privately that the fundamental weakness in our position here is that the United States "cannot outlast us in Viet Nam" and, nevertheless, "obviously does not intend to outfight us." Such are the scenes of arrogance here—perhaps unmatched since Caligula invested his horse in the Roman forum. Meanwhile, Hanoi's build-up in Viet Nam has grown so great that its forces cannot be thrown out.

Accordingly, under cover here as fully as in announced meetings, the North Vietnamese are today not negotiating at all—a total and interminable blank.

Next, indisputable battlefield evidence has now convinced our delegation that Hanoi is today totally content without any military victory whatever. Descriptions of the basic North Viet Nam tactic of pulling away when outgunned or outnumbered miss the fundamental completely. Amazingly enough, today's Red military strategy does not involve taking, holding or even attacking any strategic town, area or defenses. Exactly the reverse. They are merely content to kill about 300 Americans a month wherever convenient and let American public opinion do the rest.

They see clearly that public opinion in the United States, spearheaded by demonstrations and senatorial speeches, is our problem, and that the above plan has the potential. Public opinion and family sorrow apply in our country; these mean nothing in Hanoi.

The Red plan is only and entirely what the French call *le jen de pouvoir*—the relentless, wearing effect that erodes things, including the spirit of resistance. President Nixon has been told that the enemy estimates only about three more months for the culmination of this in our country.

Next, we now know that our announced troop withdrawals mean absolutely nothing. The Red delegation's private reaction has convinced our negotiators that the North Vietnamese, content with killing about 300 Americans a month, will merely continue to swoop down on that opportunity like a hawk against the troops that remain. And in a broader sense Hanoi knows as well that once a civilization is seen as a cowardly civilization, its days are numbered.

In this last sense our negotiators here, and President Nixon along with them, see the continuing war as extremely congenial to both the USSR and Red China alike. This is the weakness in our repeated appeals for Moscow's intervention.

Behind the scenes, the Soviet ambassadors here and in the United States are claiming a split in the Kremlin on this point, but in simple truth Hanoi could not continue the war for 30 days without the Soviets' support. Moreover, Russia is pumping in only about $1 billion a year against 30 times that much cost to us.

These are precisely the truths that President Nixon faces now in trying to end this horrible war.

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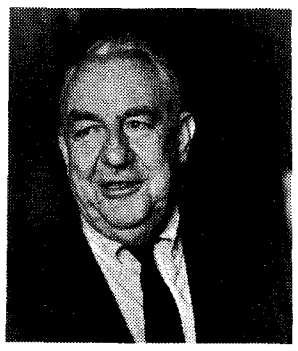

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Do You Have a Soviet Watch?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

In our time-conscious society most people wear a watch. It may have cost a few dollars or several hundred, and at the bottom of the dial may be the name of the country of origin.

Many watches, both fine and low-cost ones, are marked "Swiss." The enterprising Swiss are the world's leading suppliers of watch movements, some 70 million units annually.

But you may not find any fine print on the watch dial. That could be because the world's second biggest producer of watch movements is the Soviet Union.

What does this have to do with a time-conscious American who isn't about to buy any watch made in the Soviet Union? He may already have done so without knowing it. The Swiss, the Germans, the Japanese and the American watchmakers mark their works. The Soviet Union does not.

How does a Soviet-made watch turn up unmarked in the U.S.A.? According to an article in the *Southwestern Watchmaker and Jeweler,* entered recently in the *Congressional Record,* Soviet watch movements, unadorned with the name of their nation, come through the Virgin Islands into the United States duty-free, thanks to a federal law approved in January 1967. It permits the islands' governor to arbitrarily rule on allowing shipments to be accepted, watches to be assembled and forwarded into the United States duty free.

"Russian-made watch parts are being assembled to produce 'American-made' watches," the article says. "There are no identifying marks placed on them. The companies that assemble them under their own dial names are not telling the jewelers they are using Soviet-made parts—but they're not telling jewelers that they do not, either."

The magazine article contends that hundreds of thousands of Russian-made watches and parts have been sold in the United States, all without payment of duties and at a gold drain to us of $30 million. This is one of the ways the Soviet Union, whose money is not internationally convertible, can pick up hard currency which among other things can be used to promote Marxist-Leninist revolution—as in Viet Nam or Castro's Cuba.

So the next time somebody asks you, "what time is it?" ponder on whether payment for your watch or some of its parts helped the Soviet economy—the same economy which is supplying other "parts" in military hardware to North Viet Nam. And if you don't like it, write your congressman. This is another "bridge-building" policy which helps communism and hurts American industry. It's time for a change.

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'Leave Us Alone'

The Freedom to Be Foolish

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Boston:—Mrs. Patricia Reilly Hitt turned up here recently to deliver one of those "blah" speeches that are part of the ritual of American convention-going. She was talking to the American Home Economics Association. She said nothing at all of particular note, yet the speech set a few trains of thought in motion all the same.

Mrs. Hitt is assistant secretary for community and field services in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. She is a lady of charm, grace and intelligence, and I have nothing against her except that she says things are "meaningful." You have to watch these meaningful types

She was talking mainly about "consumer ignorance," and what can be done to enlighten the housewife. Her talk came in the same week that a House subcommittee was hearing testimony on the need for further regulations under the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966.

HEW Under Secretary Pat Hitt seems to be playing den mother to the nation's consumers, says columnist Kilpatrick.

Taking one thing with another, an observer felt the same sinking feeling known to the grimy little boy whose mother approaches with soap, scrub brush and nail file. The do-gooders are on the march again; and we are about to have good done to us.

"Today, as all of you know," said Mrs. Hitt, "the knowledge that is necessary to make wise purchases, to plan good, nutritious, economical meals, to buy a house, to plan for and buy children's educations, to select clothes and fabric that will wash and wear well, to buy furniture of solid wood instead of veneer, to know and be able to measure the value of the contents of a pillow—these things are fantastically complicated."

This is the same pitch that is being served to the House subcommittee. One witness told a pitiful tale of cheese. She held up a package that contained eight slices of cheese, weighing eight ounces, priced at 39 cents. Then she held up another package of the same cheese, containing 16 slices, weighing 12 ounces, and costing 59 cents. She was baffled. She was desperate. It was beyond her. She seemed about to burst into tears. How much was the cheese per ounce? One felt an urge to spring from the press tables and cry, "For goshsakes, lady, a nickle an ounce, a nickel an ounce!"

What is so "fantastically complicated" about the everyday decisions that so befuddle Mrs. Hitt? Seriously, now, doesn't the Congress have issues before it of greater magnitude than the price of cheese or the fat in a hot dog? The United States is the greatest nation on earth, and the House and Senate comprise the most potent parliament of our times. Is it truly a function of the President, through the amiable Mrs. Hitt, to be running around the country fluffing up pillows?

The object of all this solicitude, as Mrs. Hitt said , is to see what needs to be done "to improve the way people live, and who can do what to make it happen." The goal is to see that people know how "to use their resources for effective living." Ideally, all consumers would engage in "sound spending practices."

Well, humbug. Underlying these moans, groans and trivial dithyrambs are a couple of bogus assumptions, The first is that consumers generally, and housewives particularly, are a bunch of ignorant dolts; they cannot add, subtract, or divide; they are incapable of learning by experience that one can of corn is soupier than another; they are so gullible they cannot perceive that a box of a cereal is needlessly too large for the contents therein. And the second assumption is that Mama Hitt, the Congress, the Home Economists, and the Federal Trade Commission are competent to make mankind shape up.

Honest to goodness, there are times when an ordinary citizen wants to echo the exasperated demand for independence of the girl in the TV commercials: "Mother, I'd rather do it myself!"

The function of government is not to mollycoddle the consumer. All that properly can be asked of the state is that it protect us from dangerous products, from outright fraud, and from deliberate deception. At that point, the pull and haul of a free society ought to be allowed free play.

If men choose to be foolish (in the eyes of the experts), let them be foolish! If they like veneer, let 'em like veneer. Just leave us alone, dammit, leave us alone!

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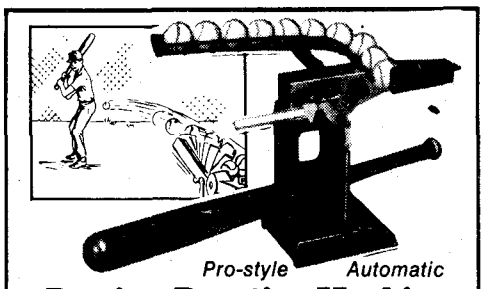

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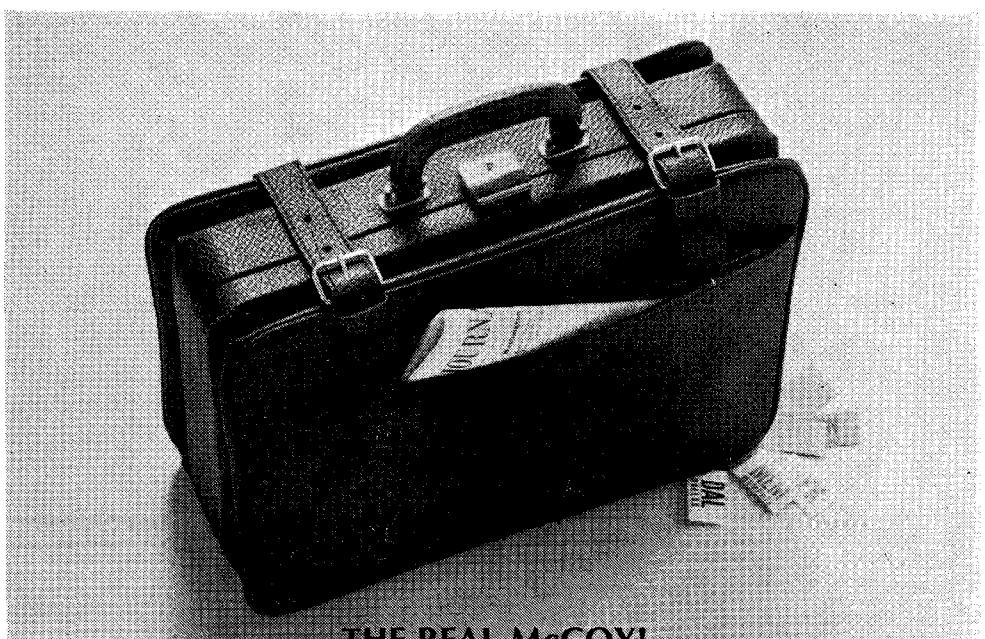

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The Foolish Campaign Against the Pentagon

Will we forget lessons of past we paid heavy price to learn?

By DEAN ACHESON

A State Department official for more than a decade, Mr. Acheson served as President Truman's Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953. While we disagreed, and still disagree, with many of his liberal positions in this period, including his attacks on Sen. Joseph McCarthy, we find that his recent opinions on many subjects—such as Rhodesia and the Soviet Union—show an enlightened shift in his thinking and, therefore, should be of great interest to conservatives.

The Congress and the people of the United States are periodically distracted by red herrings, witch hunts, and waves of cliches.

Over the more than 70 years during which I have been dimly conscious of the world around me, I have seen us preoccupied with a succession of witches.

In my early years in Middletown, Conn., I was thrilled to observe the crusade against the demon rum, which culminated in Prohibition—one of the least gifted experiments in statesmanship we have ever engaged in. (I would still maintain that the song of those days, "The Brewer's Big Horses Won't Run Over Me," is just as good as "We Shall Overcome.")

Then in foreign affairs we had a witch hunt in fear of the Yellow Peril, and wasted a good deal of effort worrying about that.

When we got to the '20s and '30s we changed our worries. Our two witches then were the bankers and the munitions makers. The bankers were placed under control when someone managed to put a midget in J.P. Morgan's lap at a congressional hearing, and Sen. Gerald Nye took care of the munitions makers so well that it was almost impossible to help our allies in the early part of the Second World War.

After this war we had the contribution of the first Sen. McCarthy, who made me very prominent in the press as the well-known Communist who was at the head of a group of Communists at the State Department.

In 1969, the witch has changed. We hear today about the menace of the military-industrial complex, and this is surely the strangest witch-hunt of all. In 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt referred proudly to our munitions industry as the "Arsenal of Democracy." I simply cannot imagine how anybody could take seriously the thought that the great soldiers who have so bravely and skillfully defended our country would be engaged in a conspiracy to waste the resources of the United States.

I should hope that responsible citizens will think about this seriously, and that this particular foolish cliche will be dropped for good.

What I decry is the effort to portray marginal problems as centrally important. It was probably a good idea to regulate the munitions industry in the '30s. It was folly to try to put American strategy into a strait-jacket in the Neutrality Acts. Tighter security regulations were in order in the '50s. What was reprehensible was the attempt to exploit the situation as a lever for overthrowing due process and subverting our pattern of constitutional authority.

Intensified rigor in congressional review of defense appropriations may well be appropriate now. What I wish to warn against—and I do so with all the emphasis at my command—is any effort to use the attendant issues as an excuse for tampering with defense and foreign policies which rise from external necessities and are vital to national existence.

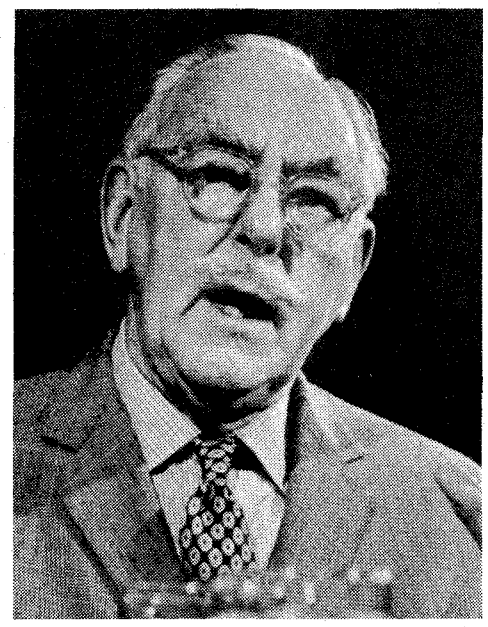
A most pernicious effect of such cliches is that they lead us to disregard the lessons about the outside world which we have paid a heavy price in the past to learn.

A pertinent case in 1969 is the problem of negotiating with the Russians. We hear a lot of arguments that going ahead with military programs such as the ABM will minimize the chance of a successful negotiation with the Soviet Union. The fact is that all of our experience indicates that this is just not so. The Russians have a different conception of what negotiations mean. I might remark that on this matter I speak from personal experience—far too much personal experience. I shall be the last to object to new negotiations between us and the Russians, but only if I personally may be excused.

I myself am a Connecticut Yankee, and my conception of negotiation is a David Harum-type of negotiation and deal. You have a horse and I want to buy it. We are both trying to accomplish a common result. You wish to get as much out of me as you can. I wish to pay as little as possible. Somewhere between those two desires we have a negotiation and make a deal and perhaps I get the horse. This is what I think most Americans think of when the word negotiation arises.

That is not the Russian conception of negotiation at all. The Russians look upon negotiation as a variety of war. It is the converse of Clausewitz who talked of war as diplomacy carried out by other means—the Russians see negotiation as war carried out with words.

So the Russians don't engage in give and take at the bargaining table. They



Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson has learned about negotiating with the Russians the hard way.

are completely unresponsive to argument or to persuasion. A Russian diplomat, like a soldier already committed to battle, is only interested in the calculation of opposing forces. They will make a deal only when their calculations lead them to believe that is is more advantageous to make a deal than not.

Sir William Hayter has said that negotiating with the Russians is like putting a penny in an old-fashioned slot machine. Sometimes you got what you wanted, but usually not. Sometimes you got nothing at all. It helped from time to time to shake the machine and sometimes to kick it. It never helped to argue with it.

Now, of course, the Russian calculation of forces is based upon their own set of priorities. The Soviet Union is always going to do what they believe is best for them, and so when I was at the State Department we used to devote a great deal of effort to working out what the Soviet intentions were. We concluded that the Russians have a number of intentions with different priorities, and that these priorities are pretty consistent.

The central overriding intention—the heart of all Russian policy—is to protect the regime in every way. That never changes, and they will never compromise on that. It affects many things that they do—for example, I think that they have seen the grave inroads which any contact with the free world, free speech, free diplomacy, or a free economy has upon their satellites and their own people, and they are determined to prevent this from happening. If they have to invade all the satellites to protect their regimes, they will do so. If they have to take more serious action, they will do that.

Beyond this central purpose, there is a second one which has been in existence since the very beginning of the Communist organization, and that is probing weaknesses on the outside. Wherever they believe they see a weakness, they probe. They try never to get in so deep that they might be trapped in some irremediable trouble, and so they stop when they meet sufficient resistance. But if the probing encounters a weak spot, they keep pushing until the weakness ends.

We found examples of this in Cuba and in Indonesia. This is a trend which has been present in the Muscovite state since the 12th Century and I cannot see any possibility of popular pressure or revolt in the Soviet Union changing it.

This means that we will never make any progress negotiating with the Russians by trying to persuade them of our intentions or by trying to alter theirs.

What we can do to get results is to change the balance of forces as they would calculate it. A very good example of this is the way the Russians began and ended the Berlin blockade. Their intentions were the same for both steps—they were trying to frustrate our attempts to reconstruct Europe and create a government which could govern Germany effectively without menacing its neighbors.

The Russians decided that they would rather keep Germany divided, and started a series of actions in opposition to our German policy culminating in the blockade of Berlin.

At this point, we still had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, and so some people suggested that we should threaten to use them and frighten the Russians into giving up. What we did instead was to create a counter-blockade which isolated East Germany from the West, and which turned out to hurt the Russians a great deal more than their blockade hurt us. This was all the more true after our airlift turned out to be such a success.

So the Russians realized that their calculation of forces had been mistaken, and eventually they took the initiative to propose that they would call off the blockade if we would call off the counter-blockade. The Russians conducted these negotiations with us in great secrecy—for a period of time only four Americans knew they were going on—but there was nothing subtle or complicated about the negotiations themselves. They offered to call off the blockade if we would call off the creation of a West German state, and we refused. So, because of their calculation of forces, they agreed to call off the blockade anyway.

All of this has a bearing on the prospects for successful negotiations with the Russians this summer. I myself am convinced that these negotiations won't get very far, but as long as someone else has to sit in the conference and listen to the Russians repeat themselves, I have no objections to making the effort.

The point is that, if we go ahead with the ABM program, it won't make these negotiations any more difficult. They are just as difficult as they can be to start with. The Russians already have an ABM and an MIRV program of their own, and, if they want to reach a reasonable agreement, we will get an agreement.

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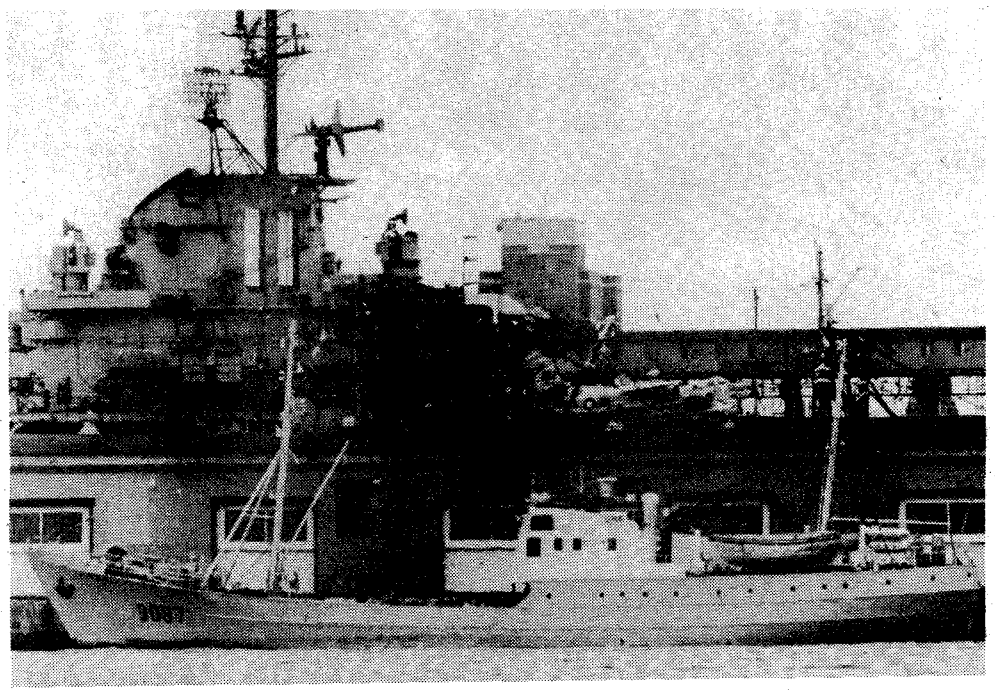

Highlighting the worldwide Cold War is this view of the aircraft carrier USS Intrepid tied up near a Soviet fishing trawler (spy ship?) at a Canadian port.

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Indiana Governor Blocks Tax Increase

By M. STANTON EVANS

Traditional Republicanism is back ome again in Indiana.

After eight years of Democratic rule, he GOP came to power in January nd for the past six months has been rying to impose the principles of thrift n Hoosierland's disordered finances.

Leading the new regime is Gov. Edgar). Whitcomb, 51, a veteran of Corregdor, a lieutenant colonel in the Air orce reserve and a conservative Republican whose views on government were haped by previous service as a legislator nd secretary of state.

Hoosiers have discovered their new overnor is a man of his word. Whitomb campaigned hard on two key ssues—stopping a tax hike and cracking own on lawlessness—and he has worked o follow through on last fall's pledges.

On the election trail, Whitcomb sserted that "Hoosier citizens are tired f the tax burden imposed at every evel of government" and that "it is ime to halt the ever-rising spiral of axation." Noting that state spending ad "more than tripled in the past ozen years," he said Indiana needed whole new outlook on state finance nd new administrative measures to alt the spending cycle.

To this end he pledged to veto proected increases in the state's major axes—sales and income levies set at wo per cent in 1963—and to use the eto power on specific bills to head off ncreases beyond regularly budgeted ppropriations. He also pledged to revamp governmental practice to hold the pending surge in check.

Such verbiage is not unusual in campaigns. The distinctive thing about the Whitcomb performance is that he has been just as concerned with economy in government since getting into office as he was when he was seeking it. Despite powerful opposition, he has redeemed his pledges.

How powerful the opposition was can be gauged from the fact that virtually every major interest group in the state was lined up in behalf of a tax increase and had been for the better part of a year. Efforts in this direction had begun in April 1968 when representatives of the lobbies had assembled in the first of a series of "tax retreats" to plan a possible doubling of the state's major levies.

Tax Lobbyists

When Whitcomb took office, the tax-hike proponents included spokesmen for business, labor, the universities, the public school lobby and the mental health activists. He thus confronted a gigantic pro-tax alliance that embraced virtually every major power bloc in the state, cut across party lines and reached deep into the legislature.

Whitcomb was convinced, however, that the voice of the interest groups was not the voice of the people, a view sustained by the election results. The tax issue sparked him to victory over a Democratic opponent who had indicated agreement with the "tax retreat" position. He ran well ahead of ticket-mate William Ruckelshaus and some 12,000 votes ahead of President Nixon in the Hoosier state (see *Human Events*, Dec. 14, 1968 issue.)

Whitcomb's campaign manager, Don A. Tabbert, says the governor's election win was "a victory for an honest stance on the issues rather than the usual approach of promising something to every special interest group in the state. . . In this day and age, candidates for office are told that they cannot win if they don't promise pie in the sky. Whitcomb disregarded this advice with his strong stand against a tax increase and swept to a substantial victory. . . ."

An independent survey in early 1969 confirmed public backing for the Whitcomb stance. By a better than 2-to-1 margin, Hoosier citizens said they opposed increases in the sales and gross income taxes. Some 63 per cent of the respondents said they opposed such a hike as compared to only 28 per cent who said they had no objection to it—rather different from the imagined popular demand for more taxes and spending conjured up by the tax lobbyists.

After Whitcomb's victory, tax-hike proponents conceded the governor had scored an election coup with his pledge to halt the increase, but said he couldn't keep his promise. A tax increase, they argued, was "inevitable" and Whitcomb had put himself in an impossible position. The alternative to more taxes, they concluded, would be unparalleled financial disaster.

Backed by Lt. Gov. Richard Folz and other state office-holders, Whitcomb stuck to his guns. When the legislative smoke cleared away he had won again. The lawmakers found he meant his veto pledge and no major tax increases were enacted. A balanced budget of $2.629 billion was voted for the biennium, fully funding state agencies and state-supported institutions.

Indeed, although the state was supposed to founder without a $1-billion hike in levies, all appropriations were at record levels and some—such as state aid to public schools—represented record increases. At this writing the state surplus, which had been dwindling away to nullity, is being rebuilt. Projected "crises" in public services have not materialized.

How did Whitcomb do it? Not with mirrors, or by juggling the books, but by applying principles of economy which may seem like common sense to the average citizen but are considered revolutionary in government circles. In many respects, indeed, the Whitcomb effort is more far-reaching than that of Gov. Ronald Reagan in California, although Whitcomb himself notes he had a less disastrous financial situation to work with.

Whitcomb's Commissioner of Administration, W.W. Hill Jr. says the governor is well on the way toward cutting state employment 10 per cent.

Edgar D. Whitcomb, elected GOP Governor of Indiana last year, has charted a sound fiscal course which other state executives could well follow.

Whitcomb also came to office with an entire slate of state office-holders—Lt. Gov. Folz, State Treasurer John Snyder, Superintendent of Public Instruction Richard Wells, Auditor Trudy Etherton—who have strongly backed his economic programs. In the law enforcement field, he has had similar support, from state Attorney General Theodore Sendak, a no-nonsense advocate of law and order and a withering critic of permissiveness in courts and correctional institutions.

Key Fiscal Themes

In pressing his economy drive, Whitcomb has stressed certain key themes. Among them:

• **State spending should not increase faster than the annual increase in population, plus the inflation factor.**

Whitcomb hammered this idea in his campaign and again when battling with the legislature. He noted that state spending increased from $1.09 billion in the biennium starting in 1959 to the more than $2.5 billion proposed for '69-'71—a 135 per cent increase in the 10-year period. During the same span, he noted Indiana's population was increasing by about 1 per cent a year.

Why, the governor asked, should state outlays go up so much faster than the population? Why not limit the increase to the amount generated by natural revenue growth through the present tax structure—about 8 per cent a year? In the end, this was almost exactly the level of increase provided by the legislature—a boost of 16.1 per cent for the '69-'71 biennium.

• **Property tax relief cannot be achieved simply by expanded spending at the state level.**

Whitcomb and his associates tackled this favored argument of tax-hike proponents head-on. He pointed out that "we have heard such commentary before—in 1957 and 1963. State tax increases were voted in the name of property tax relief, but the relief did not occur." Instead, he said, state expenditures went up to absorb the extra revenue.

A Whitcomb spokesman elaborates by showing that increases in state spending and state aid, by encouraging lavishness at all levels of government, have actually helped to boost the property tax—in the same fashion that federal aid increases rather than decreases state expenditures.

The only way to get real property tax relief, says Whitcomb, is to give Hoosier communities local option powers to rearrange their tax base as they see fit (not granted by the legislature), put responsibility for raising new money on the people who spend it and encourage strict economy at the state and local levels alike.

• **Deep slashes can be made in administrative overhead, allocating less money to bureaucratic functions and more to programs.**

Whitcomb has held fast to this campaign assertion, mandating a 10 per cent reduction in the number of state employes. According to Commissioner of Administration W.W. Hill Jr., the job cutback was almost half-way to its objective as of June 1. Hill notes that the number of employes in May 1969 was down to 21,197—almost 1,000 below the total for a year before (22,128). Moreover, he observes, the number of employes is 3,000 below authorized strength. He estimates that these reductions below authorizations set by the last General Assembly are saving Hoosier taxpayers $15 million a year.

"We're going to have a 10 per cent job cutback," Whtcomb says. "There's a natural resistance and we have to work out the details. But we have some built-in things going for us and we are helping by natural attrition."

• **Waste in government can be trimmed by improved accounting procedures and other efficiency measures.**

This view was confirmed almost immediately by Hill, who discovered state institutions were carrying inventories in excess of their needs. Steps to tighten inventories, plus new bidding rules for state vendors instituted by Director of Supply George Watts, have been taken to prevent recurrence of these practices.

Additionally, Whitcomb fulfilled a major campaign pledge by having a team of 60 business executives conduct a study of Indiana government, at no cost to the state. The resulting report totaled approximately 700 manuscript pages and weighed about 6½ pounds. The study made some 660 recommen-

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(Continued from preceding page)

dations, which in the opinion of John R. Benbow, head of the Governor's Economy Program, can save Indiana some $64 million a year. "There are always problems with these things," says Whitcomb, "but I think if we can achieve half this amount we will have rendered a real service." A staff man has been assigned full-time to ride herd on the economy recommendations.

• Improved collections procedures can bring in added millions in legitimate revenues without a tax hike.

This theme, sounded in the fall by Whitcomb and State Treasurer Snyder, has been borne out in practice. Revenue Commissioner James O. Mathis and Attorney General Sendak moved jointly in March to put the clamps on delinquent payments into state coffers—particularly by merchants who had collected sales taxes from the public but had not turned the money over to the state.

Concerning the revenue improvements achieved by this move, Whitcomb asserts: "We're running several million dollars ahead, not only through the crackdown, but through improved collections generally. The publicity about the program has helped collections greatly." Revenue chief Mathis says the effort to close these and other loop holes in state tax procedures could net up to $40 million for the biennium.

• Where ability allows, people should pay the costs of specific services received from the state. Low-income taxpayers should not have to pay more taxes so that well-to-do people can receive more benefits.

In the struggle over college tuitions, Whitcomb made this "user payment" principle stick. He simultaneously launched an expanded state scholarship and loan program so that indigent students would not be prevented from attending school by tuition hikes announced by the universities (far bigger hikes, incidentally, than Whitcomb had recommended).

Veto Power

Among Whitcomb's strongest backers in this effort is Auditor of State Trudy Etherton, who at 27 is close to the interests of the college generation. She points out that the Whitcomb approach is "fairer than that proposed by those who would abolish tuitions and raise taxes on all Hoosier citizens to make up the difference."

In the first place, she notes, those who can pay their way should contribute to the cost of their education; second, increased taxes hit the needy; third, the scholarship approach does not discriminate against independent schools in favor of tax-supported ones.

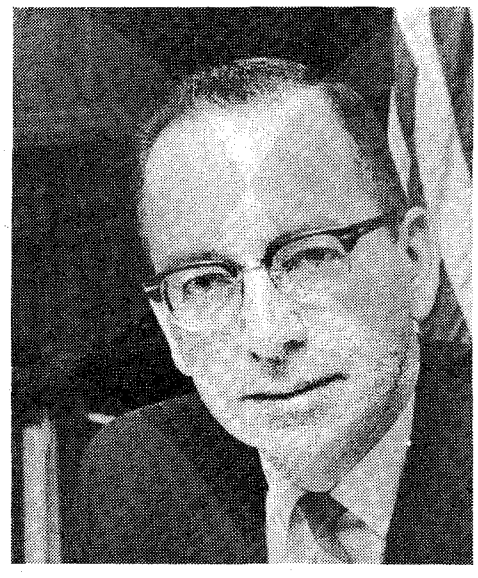
Campaign manager Don A. Tabbert calls Whitcomb's win "a victory for an honest stance on the issues."

• The governor's veto power can be and should be used to knock out legislation which would mandate spending increases.

Whitcomb has used this economy weapon to the full, setting a new mark for vetoing legislation at a single session of the General Assembly. He vetoed some 58 bills this year, compared to a previous high of 54 set by Gov. Roger Branigin in 1965.

Even more to the point, it was obvious during the legislature that Whitcomb's promise to veto a major increase acted as a powerful restraint upon legislators who had caught the tax-hike fever. The veto threat hung like a cloud over the session, and without that threat it is virtually certain a tax boost would have been voted.

As a result of these efforts, the Hoosier state economy is now running in the black. The state surplus, as of June 30, was over $25 million—above the projections of the legislature and a far cry from the visions of doom invoked



State Attorney General Theodore Sendak supports the governor's no-nonsense approach to law and order.

by tax-hike proponents over the preceding year. Whitcomb asserts:

"Our major accomplishment is our effort to stop the spending spiral, to level it off. All indications are that we will be able to do this very successfully. Our budget director, Tom Taylor, tells me that the surplus at the end of this biennium will be substantial. Depending on the success of our economics, it could go up to the neighborhood of $50 million to $75 million. This would be the highest surplus ever achieved without raising taxes."

Simultaneously, Whitcomb has moved to sustain commitments in the field of law enforcement. During the election, he set forth an eight-point program for law and order, and in one form or another has moved to affirm all of these.

Among his first acts upon taking office was the convening of a statewide crime conference, assembling prosecutors, judges, and other law enforcement officials. Under the direction of Whitcomb administrative assistant William T. Sharp, this conclave produced a package of anti-crime bills presented to the legislature. Ten of these were adopted.

Also enacted was a statue reorganizing the municipal courts of Marion County (Indianapolis), establishing a presiding judge and setting up two new criminal courts. In keeping with his campaign theme, Whitcomb appointed "law and order" men to these judicial posts—including Sharp himself, an experienced and highly respected jurist prior to his service with the state. Four other key judicial appointments have been of similar persuasion.

The governor promised a new look in correctional institutions, which he strongly criticized for "permissiveness" manifest in outbreaks of violence in previous years. A firm hand now prevails in the corrections system, although this issue became a potential hot potato when the Corrections Chief was indicted for assorted offenses under the previous administration. Whitcomb bounced the official summarily, exciting criticism that he had been too harsh but leaving little doubt that he intended the department to be run on the up and up.

When disorders welled uponcollege campuses, Whitcomb again took a hard line.

Student protesters were ousted from a Purdue building by state police, and Whitcomb informed trustees of all state universities that they would be expected to maintain good order. He made a "respectful demand," not request, that there be "immediate, firm and absolute compliance with the laws of the state of Indiana to the end that the physical aspects of the campus as well as the students thereon be afforded lawful and due protection. . . ."

Student Problems

These assertions were followed by indictments of several demonstrators at Indiana University and suspensions at Purdue.

"Instead of simply rushing police onto the campuses," Whitcomb explains, "we studied the situation in depth and made sure of what we were doing. We reminded the trustees of their duty and I think a general firming up of attitudes has curtailed the problem. The indictments at I.U. and the suspensions at Purdue have had a deterrent effect."

Concerning the protesting students, Whitcomb says "I don't think they ever doubted that we were serious in enforcing the law. People violating the law in a group or on a campus should pay the same penalty as an individual or someone off campus."

Whitcomb's hand in the college dispute was strongly backed by Attorney Gen-

State Auditor, 27-year-old Trudy Etherton, is a strong backer of Whitcomb's "user payment" idea on college tuitions.

eral Sendak, In an opinion issued in May, Sendak stressed the duty of trustees, administrators, and faculty to maintain order on campus, and noted that failure to perform this duty deprived those who come to state schools for an education of the rights for which they have contracted.

Sendak asserted that "the majority of students who are performing their part of the contract. . .yet. . .are prevented from receiving. . .[an] education in an atmosphere and environment devoid of rebellion and anarchy. . .may also seek redress by civil actions in a court of law."

The Attorney General added that "the state of Indiana has the right to institute civil law suits against officials at any level to collect claims for damages against state property. If any state university official abdicates his responsibility he should resign or face legal process for removal."

Indiana State Treasurer John Snyder says improved collection procedures can boost revenues without higher taxes.

In pushing through his programs Whitcomb has encountered plenty o opposition. His no-new-taxes stance ha brought a continuing rain of denuncia tion from the interest groups; the col leges and universities and various o the students have been loud in thei protests; the public school lobby ha excoriated his program as insufficient– even though it produced the larges single increase in state aid to loca schools in history. Public employe unions are indignant over the job cutback

Having been through so many previous battles, Whitcomb views the uproar with equanimity. He is confident the people are with him and that many of the protesters will eventually see this and be won over to his cause. He thinks the low-tax/economy position can triumph again in 1971, when the next legislature convenes.

"I feel better about the prospects o holding the line in the next Genera Assembly than I did this time," he says "By the time the next legislature meets, we will have had time to establish the general validity of our theories and I think we will have support from many people who doubted that our approach would work."

Campaign manager Tabbert sums up the meaning of the economy effort thi way:

"Republican leaders can go to the voters of Indiana and remind them that this is the party that said it would hold down taxes, and did it. They can point out that this is the first administration in a long time to launch an immediate and genuine economy in government—in short, an administration that puts the voters and the taxpayers first, not last."

Commissioner of Administration Hill concurs. "This is an effort to mak sound conservative principles work i state government," he asserts, "to revers the momentum of bureaucratic growt in American society. We know it ca be made to work here and we think the same principles could be applie elsewhere."

"Having been in office now for six months, it is easy for me to see how big government grows. It will continu to grow unless we take necessary measures. The danger is that as the number of people on the public payroll outsteps the increase in wealth, taxe go up and you get a kind of collectivis system.

"We're turning the process around her in Indiana. We're doing more to sto the big government trend here than i other states.

"As I see it, a conservative is responsible, realistic person who ca differentiate the things which work fron the things which are merely theoretica and unworkable. That is what we ar trying to do in Indiana."

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Caesar and God

By MORRIE RYSKIND

When, a few years ago, I advocated the registration of guns—an opinion I still obstinately hold—I recorded that the first batch of mail from readers opposed me by 80 to 1.

But I don't lose them all. I still get mail on two recent pieces questioning the extra-curricular activities, so to speak, of the National Council of Churches—and here I am overwhelmingly supported.

Clearly, many Protestants resent any part of their church donations going to further the ultra-liberal causes espoused by NCC. And resent it even more when such doctrines are preached from their own pulpits.

Most of the notes cite the Bible about "rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." They grant the minister's right to whatever political belief, but feel he violates the Biblical injunction when he uses the pulpit as a soap-box. As one writer put it, "I believe firmly in the American tradition of separation of church from state, and think I can be a good Christian without following the commandments of the ADA."

Those who defend NCC argue it does not pretend to speak for its membership, but merely presents its views to them. A sort of inter-office memo, as it were, making suggestions for consideration by the full body.

If so, this is the most open series of private communications on record—and not because anybody has bugged the wires. Every stance of the NCC board is relayed to the press with all the fanfare that heralds a movie premiere—and often gets more space in the papers, on the assumption that NCC is the authentic voice of 40 million Protestants.

Further, the alibi that the NCC board does not pretend to speak for the membership was made only after a storm or protests—not before.

I recall a similar alibi—and afterthought. In 1964, the publication of the United Church of Christ urged its 2 million communicants to vote against Barry Goldwater, pictured as a combination of Attila the Hun and Rasputin. That this decision did not represent the members but only the liberal hierarchy of the Church was soon evidenced by the roar of dissent from many lay members.

It was too loud a roar to ignore, so the liberal hierarchy took refuge in the name of—so help me—"free speech." The article voiced, the board said, the opinions of the editor, who was free to draw his own conclusions; and they would not dream of interfering with his right to express them.

That, of course, was simply hogwash. Does anyone pretend that, if the editor had endorsed Goldwater, he could have gotten away with it? Boy, would those high-principled liberals have interfered!

One of my critics suggests that I, as a Jew, "should not stick my nose into Christian church policy." That would be valid if the matter were one of religious dogma. But when the minister gets on the hustings to delve into temporal matters—as NCC does—I deem it my right to question him as I would any other politico. Once he enters the political arena, I have the right of rebuttal and am not limited to simply saying "Amen."

I protested just as vigorously when, in 1964, a New Jersey rabbi told his synagogue it was the duty of every Jew to support LBJ against Barry. That sermon, naturally, made the front pages. Jehovah, too, it seemed, had gone Democratic.

But Edgar Magnin, the prestigious and beloved dean of the Los Angeles rabbinate, denounced that sermon as a profanation of the temple. He denied the right of the Jerseyite to use his pulpit for partisan politics, and added that Barry was an honorable citizen fully entitled to the consideration of any American, Jew or Gentile. Yet—peculiarly enough—the Magnin rebuttal was not carried nationally. After all, the papers can't print everything.

What made Rabbi Magnin's rebuttal particularly noteworthy in my eyes was that I knew he himself was voting for Johnson that year. But, as a man of honor, he felt it his duty to speak out against the synagogue being turned into a campaign headquarters—for either party.

Which is one of the many reasons I rank Rabbi Magnin high on my list of genuine Americans.

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Maryland's Reading List

Want to know why some of those college students turn into radicals? The University of Maryland provides a possible clue. Freshmen preparing to enter the university were recently furnished a booklet regarding Orientation and Registration which stated:

"Only three steps are necessary to arrange for attending Orientation and Registration," directs the pamphlet.

"A. Fill out the four enclosed cards.

"B. Enclose a check. . .for $13. . .to the University of Maryland. . . .

"C. Read at least one of the following books.

The Autobiography of Malcolm X, by Malcolm Little.

Black Power, the Politics of Liberation in America, by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton

Concerning Civil Disobedience, by Abe Fortas

Crisis in Black and White, by Charles Silberman

Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent Too? by John W. Gardner

Invisible Man, by Ralph Ellison

The Other American, by Michael Harrington

During Orientation you will informally discuss the issues raised in the book which you read."

How's that for objectivity? Not one of these authors is a conservative, nor even "middle of the road."

Carmichael, of course, is a Castroite revolutionary, Harrington is a Socialist, Gardner thinks everyone should look toward Uncle Sam to solve the "urban crisis." Abe Fortas, who has demonstrated a certain lack of scrupulousness on the High Court, suggests in his widely misinterpreted *Concerning Civil Disobedience* that governments, federal, state and local, should lay out the red carpet for demonstrators and provide them the facilities from which they can effectively stage their protests. Maryland taxpayers, one would think, would be raising the roof on this loaded fare.

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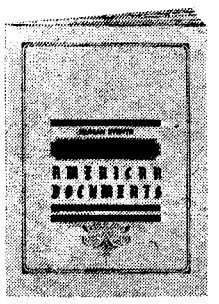

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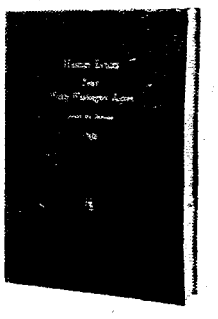

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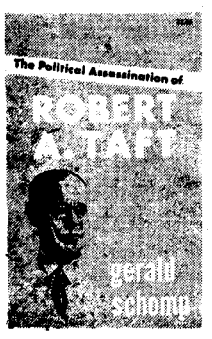

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Jackie Tried to Cut Spending, But JFK Said: 'Try Harder'

By LUCIANNE GOLDBERG

The author, who worked for the Lyndon B. Johnsons and then at the White House during the Kennedy Administration, has confirmed the facts in this article from a variety of reliable sources.

In March, of 1963, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was deep in crisis. The situation in Viet Nam was going downhill, Saigon was crying for more American aid. A new incident in Berlin threatened another U.S.-Soviet confrontation. And the civil rights movement in the South was accompanied by riot and murder.

So it was quite refreshing, one day, when Mary Barelli Gallager, Mrs. Kennedy's secretary, told the President that, for January and February of 1963, Mrs. Kennedy had spent only $16,000. In the same period, during 1962, she had spent $28,000, a considerable portion of which was for clothes.

All the members of the White House staff quickly learned of these figures, and how delighted the President was that day in March.

The staff knew that for some time he had been pleading with Jackie to be more thrifty. Perhaps what Mr. Kennedy overlooked was that in January and February of 1963 Mrs. Kennedy was pregnant and fulfilling few social obligations and doing a minimum amount of shopping.

At this time it was known in the White House that the President was urging Jackie to try harder to further reduce expenses. He sent her several memos on this subject via Mrs. Gallagher.

On a visit to New York Mrs. Kennedy, lunching with friends at the Caravelle, said jokingly, "The President seems more concerned these days with my budget than with the budget of the United States."

Late last month Mrs. Gallagher revealed in a sensational article in the *Ladies Home Journal* that the former First Lady's personal expenses during her White House years were more than $100,000 annually. In fact, in 1962 they were $121,461.62, more than the amount her husband was paid for being President of the United States!

Mrs. Gallagher, who stands to make a cool quarter of a million dollars from her book, *My Life with Jacqueline Kennedy,* which will be published in the fall by David McCay Co., was of course not the only one aware of Jackie's sophisticated and costly tastes.

Many members of the White House staff, as well as those in the business of selling objects d'art, jewelry and haute couture in Paris and New York, have long relished telling, privately, stories about "Her Elegance," as Mrs. Kennedy is known in fashion circles, and her shopping sprees.

However, generally they have respected her desire for privacy in such matters, and the matter never before was explored in depth.

Oleg Cassini, who designed Mrs. Kennedy's inaugural gown and who, in a two-year period, made 300 exclusive models for Mrs. Kennedy's consideration, practically physically evicted a journalist from his office for asking about the First Lady's clothes budget.

When it was reported that Mrs. Kennedy spent $50,000 on clothes in the first 16 months in the White House (a report now confirmed by Mrs. Gallagher) Mrs. Kennedy said publicly: "I couldn't spend that much unless I wore sable underwear."

Despite Mrs. Kennedy's remark, in one typical month, it was reported in New York's fashion circles, she spent $5,000 for dresses.

At the height of the Nixon-Kennedy campaign, in 1960, when Mrs. Gallagher was one of the then Sen. Kennedy's secretaries, as well as handling Jackie's affairs, *Women's Wear Daily,* a trade paper, said that Mrs. Kennedy had bought heavily in Paris at the elegant houses of Cardin, Gres, Chanel and Balenciaga. These masters of dress design charge roughly $1,500 for a plain tailored suit, and a Balenciaga ball gown is about $2,000.

With her sleeveless lined dresses that the First Lady favored, she wore colored enamel gold bangles from Tiffany's that are priced from $1,225 to $3,450. And

Mrs. Gallagher (above) has made some pungent observations on Jackie Kennedy's spending habits when she was in the White House.

these were but minor trinkets in her jewelry collection.

As Mrs. Gallagher knows, during her years in the White House, Mrs. Kennedy tried to deny the size and range of her wardrobe for obvious political reasons. For instance, Jackie never wore her favorite mink coat when there was a chance of getting photographed.

However, after the President was killed Mrs. Kennedy moved to New York, and as one fashion writer put it: "her double-breasted black mink coat from Maximillian's became one of her uniforms for afternoon errands."

About Jackie's desire for secrecy, John Fairchild, the publisher of *Women's Wear Daily,* recalls: "I received a call from the White House. It was Pierre Salinger, the President's press secretary, on the line. He just wanted to tell me: 'The President was displeased with all the stories about Mrs. Kennedy's clothes.'"

In the fall of 1963 Mrs. Kennedy accepted the invitation of Aristotle Socrates Onassis to make a cruise on his fantastic yacht, the "Christina," along with her sister, Princess Lee Radziwill, and Mr. and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.

An incident that amused the entire White House staff, including Mrs. Gallagher, on the day of Mrs. Kennedy's deparature for the "Christina," anchored in Greece, involved Kenneth, the First Lady's favorite hairdresser.

Kenneth, who charges an arm and a leg for even the quickest finger wave, came to the White House from his New York salon to do Mrs. Kennedy's hair in her third-floor sitting room. He gave her his famous "restless and savage" cut, which was, at the time, the trademark of the international jet set.

When the President saw Jackie's new coiffeur he whistled. It was a bit much, and he asked Kenneth to tone it down. Pierre Salinger remembers that the President, smiling, said to Kenneth: "Say, are you trying to make sure I won't get re-elected?"

Incidentally, these days, when Mrs. Kennedy is in New York, she goes to Kenneth's multi-million-dollar five-story mansion at 19 East 54th Street, which has, among other things, 900 yards of Indian jungle flower carpeting, made by Scotland's master weavers. In Kenneth's, Jackie often ran into Mrs. William Paley, whose husband *is* CBS, or Mia Farrow, whose husband *was* Frank Sinatra. Among other glamorous Kenneth clients was the late Marilyn Monroe. Kenneth, by the way, went with Mrs. Kennedy on her famous Indian trip.

The White House staff knew that during the years Mrs. Gallagher was close to Mrs. Kennedy during two tragic periods, the birth and death of the infant Patrick Bouvier Kennedy, and the death of President Kennedy.

Mrs. Gallagher was Mrs. Kennedy's guest in a spacious rented house on Cape Cod on August 7, 1963, when Mrs. Kennedy, then pregnant, felt herself going into labor.

The two women went by helicopter to Otis Air Force Base. Those associated with the presidential family, including Mrs. Gallagher, recall that Mrs. Kennedy had a premonition that the baby would not live. Patrick died on August 9.

During the final trip to Texas, in November of that year, Mrs. Gallagher traveled with the Kennedys on Air Force One. On the trip, which included stopovers in Fort Worth, San Antonio and Houston, Mrs. Gallagher helped Mrs. Kennedy pack, as she so often had in the past. "Mary's duties," an associate said, "were more personal than secretarial."

It was no easy job, because, as Mrs. Kennedy's friends know—and often joke about—she always traveled with an immense amount of luggage, including a specially designed huge kit, just for her cosmetics.

As Mrs. Gallagher told her fellow White House employes, on the morning of November 22 she helped Jackie select the white kid gloves that the First Lady wore—as the whole shocked world later saw—in the Dallas motorcade.

After the murder Mrs. Gallagher was among those who returned to Washington on Air Force One with Mrs. Kennedy, the body of the late President, and President and Mrs. Johnson. Jackie's white gloves were blood-stained.

In the part of her book recently printed in the *Ladies Home Journal,* Mrs. Gallagher mentioned how hard she and others worked for Mrs. Kennedy and in her case at least, how poor the pay was.

It was generally known that these irritations continued after Mrs. Kennedy moved from the White House to a Georgetown home. The Navy had assigned four stewards, regularly attached to the White House, to assist Mrs. Kennedy and technically they were supervised by Mrs. Gallagher.

In Navy circles in Washington the word got out, shortly after the move, that the men had asked to return to White House duty. Their complaint was that so much was going on at Mrs. Kennedy's, and they were given so many different assignments, including bartending and helping serve food, that they had little time to visit their families or girl friends. Mrs. Gallagher spoke up for the sailors and Mrs. Kennedy thought it none of her business.

When President Kennedy was ali
Mrs. Gallagher signed a pledge, alo
with others who worked intimately wi
the President and the First Lady, nev
to write for publication or to talk
radio or TV about private matters th
took place at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenu

It has been reported that the reas
Mrs. Gallagher decided to ignore t
pledge and write her forthcoming bo
was that the First Lady "outraged a
alienated her" by giving her a tong
lashing for allegedly "leaking" certa
juicy items to the press.

Mrs. Gallagher, according to the err
neous version, denied participating in
much as a single "leak," of the ty
which agitated Mrs. Kennedy, pa
ticularly during the publicity involvi
the book by William Manchester.

What actually did happen, and th
will no doubt be confirmed in Mi
Gallagher's future writings, is this: The
was a gradual deterioration of the tv
women's relations. For one thing, Mi
Gallagher was quite open about havi
requested a raise to $1,000 a mont
this was common White House gossi
Jackie is said to have thought this w
quite out of line and spoke harshly
the sensitive Mrs. Gallagher.

Furthermore, there were several hassl
about Mrs. Gallagher's use of Whi
House cars, still assigned to Mi
Kennedy after she moved out.

On several occasions other employ
at Mrs. Kennedy's Georgetown hou
saw Mrs. Gallagher emerge from Jackie
study with tears rolling down her cheek
There was increasing bickering and tv
times Mrs. Gallagher quit—only to retu
a few days later. And then there w
the time, so the scuttlebutt had it, th
Mrs. Gallagher would not accept pho
calls from Mrs. Kennedy for a full da

Mrs. Gallagher stuck it out, thoug
and when the newspapers reported, ea
in June, 1964, that Mrs. Kennedy h
rented an apartment on Fifth Aven
and was going to move permanently
New York with Caroline and young Joh
everyone in the White House assum
that Mrs. Gallagher would go alo
with her—and so did Mrs. Gallaghe

Well, it didn't work out that way. Mrs. Kennedy went to New York and to a different way of life and Mrs. Gallagher commenced writing her memoirs, which have created a volcano of speculation in the publishing world.

Oddly enough, people close to Steph
Smith, who handles the Kennedy's fi
ancial affairs in New York, told
reporter that even after Mrs. Kenne
and Mrs. Gallagher went their separa
ways, the family thought so well of th
former secretary that they wanted her
go to work for Ethel Kennedy. Mi
Gallagher, it is understood, said qui
frankly that one Kennedy was enoug

President Kennedy's constant conce
about Jackie's public appearnances a
her private expenses is, as might
expected, a far cry from the attitu
expressed recently by her present husba
Mr. Onassis.

Interviewed by a reporter for *Constan*
a German magazine for women, th
shipping tycoon said: "Jackie is a litt
bird that needs its freedom and security
and she gets both from me. She can
exactly as she pleases, visit internation
fashion shows or go to the theatre
I never question her and she nev
queries me."

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Will Unions Be Included in Tax Reform?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The Congress of the United States very quick to point an admonishing ıger at the judicial and executive anches of the federal government when sees—or seems to see—a conflict of terest between the duties of office and rsonal considerations. But the Senate ıd House stand mute when that conflict ises in its own deliberations.

It is no secret—and, in fact, reported the Clerk of the House as a matter law—that the labor movement pours any millions of dollars into the camıign coffers of congressional candidates. 'ithout those contributions, some memrs could not have financed their ections. Yet these members sit on the ouse and Senate labor committees where cy pass on legislation affecting their ›litical allies. They hold sway over the ›werful House Ways and Means Comittee and use their strategic votes to event the testimony of groups critical labor.

A blatant example is the refusal of hairman Wilbur Mills of the House 'ays and Means Committee to allow e National Right-to-Work Committee testify in recent hearings on tax rerm. The Constitution gives any citizen group of citizens the right to petition ongress, but the Right-to-Work Comittee is on labor's black list, so it is rred from appearing.

Not so AFL-CIO President George Meany, who is welcomed with open arms. The R-T-W Committee was grudgingly permitted to present a written statement, immediately buried in the record, which does not get the press and radio-TV coverage that a personal appearance normally earns.

The point the Right-to-Work Committee wanted to make is, of course, obnoxious to labor-backed congressmen. But it is very germane to the hearings held by the House Ways and Means Committee in possible tax reforms. Much publicity has been given to proposals by that committee to tax the unrelated business incomes of churches, civic leagues, and fraternal benefit organizations—many of whom are making tax-free millions in areas which have nothing to do with the purposes that won them a tax-exemption. But not a word has been said about the same practices when indulged by labor unions which, people sometimes forget, are also tax-exempt.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, for example, has been up to its white-collared neck in New York's real estate business. The money to finance these operations came from compulsory dues which the members must pay to keep their jobs. Yet the middle-income apartment houses which the ILGWU owns in New York come under the union's tax-exempt umbrella. The rest of the citizenry pays out of its pocket in higher taxes for union-owned business enterprise whose profits remain untouched.

AFL-CIO chief George Meany is given all the publicity he wants when he pleads labor's cause.

There is another aspect of trade union tax exemption. Under the law, organizations engaged in political activity—electing candidates and lobbying before the Congress—are not entitled to a tax exemption. Yet even the Supreme Court has recognized that labor unions pour millions of dollars each year into political campaigns. The National Labor Relations Board has, of course, refused to act against labor politicking, even though it is illegal under the Internal Revenue statutes and the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

There is, however, only theoretical relief for union members who object to supporting candidates and issues which they personally oppose. The landmark case cited above took 12 years before it reached the Supreme Court—and how many dues-paying members of this or that union can afford this luxury? It's easier to pay the money and shut up.

No conceivable reason, moral or financial, can be found to justify taxing the related business income of churches but retaining the tax exemption of unions in similar circumstances. No conceivable reason, other than political, can be found to justify depriving organizations engaged in political work of their tax exemption while labor retreats to its well-upholstered privileged sanctuary. This is particularly true when the tax burden on the average citizen grows heavier with each passing day, when there is a clamor for tax reform, and when every possible source of added revenue for the treasury is being explored.

Before the law, presumably, all persons are equal, but to many congressmen labor is a little more equal. Because it can mobilize its small army of lobbyists and coldly remind our national legislators where their campaign contributions come from, the unions have been able to escape the kind of even-handed justice which they claim to hold dear. But the taxpayers are up in arms, and if even a few thousand of them demand that Congress live up to its responsibilities to all the voters, the House and Senate will pay them some mind. All it will cost is a 6-cent stamp.

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'ork for Able-Bodied

Burns Develops Plans to Prune Relief Rolls

By VICTOR RIESEL

There is one national issue which is touchy as a dry martini at a Women's hristian Temperance Union caucus. nd that's any suggestion that ableodied men be taken off the multibillion ollar relief rolls and put to work.

Yet, the White House is quietly deloping just such a program. Crusty ounselor to the President Dr. Arthur urns, not quite the curmudgeon he'd ke his colleagues to believe, is needling, heedling, and pressuring the Council r Urban Affairs into action.

And he'll get action. He's that close Richard Nixon, he comes as close being the nation's basic policymaker any presidential "assistant" ever has en.

When Mr. Nixon's chief economic dviser answers a hard-nosed question om a hard-nosed newsman with a rd, unequivocal answer, count on it as pronouncement of national policy.

The other day an inquirer put it to im this way: "Part of your thinking, it has been reported from time to me, Dr. Burns, is that all-able bodied elfare recipients should be required to ther go to work or to enroll in jobaining programs. Can we expect this be part of the Nixon Administration olicy?"

To which Prof. Burns replied: "I think it can. I think you can. I think this is a very good proposal from the viewpoint of the welfare recipients, first of all. They will be better off. They will become a part of productive society. They will feel better about themselves and about their future, and this certainly is desirable from the viewpoint of the taxpayer."

It's comforting just to know that someone is thinking of the glassy-eyed taxayer who, these days, is full of heart and empty pockets. There are mighty few, however (and certainly not Dr. Burns), who want to slash aid to families with dependent children, or to the aged, or to the permanently disabled or to the needy blind.

There's a need for compassion here, but not for profundity. There are jobs. There are able-bodied men and women on the relief rolls. The objective is to match them—welfare client and vacant job.

At the moment, the outflow of public assistance money is awesome. Neither Dr. Burns nor the Council for Urban Affairs wants to deprive any of the needy of income or dignity. They may, in fact, come up with programs costing even more money, says White House economic adviser Burns.

But those who can work, should work. At the moment, no one in or out of government knows how many of the 10,142,000 persons now receiving public assistance are employable. An additional 1.5 million don't receive cash. They are aided by Medicaid payments. It takes some $8.866 billion to subsidize the 10 million on the rolls. Of this money the total federal share is $4.702 billion.

There is one hint of the total number of men and women who can get themselves off the relief rolls and go to work. In New York's Nassau County the estimate runs to five per cent.

If this holds true across the land, there are some 500,000 men and women accepting relief who should be at work and for whom there are jobs.

If they went to work, there would be millions more for the unfortunate folk who need it. And there are federal agencies ready, willing and able to help. There are hundreds of anonymous—and compassionate—federal specialists who know the problems of transportation, illiteracy, dependent children and lack of skills.

There is, for example, over in Secretary of Labor George Shultz' Department WIN—the Work Incentive program. It does help move those who want to work out of welfare and into jobs. There are counseling, educational and training services. It operated locally through employment offices in 33 states. During training the welfare "clients" are paid wages in addition to what they receive in public assistance. As their wages increase, their welfare payments decrease until they become self-supporting.

WIN aims first for jobs for jobless fathers and mothers. Then for those who volunteer. Finally, those referred by local welfare offices.

Under the law, those over 16 years of age who receive aid to families with dependent children assistance must be referred to WIN by the welfare offices unless they are sick, disabled, elderly, or live too far away, or are full-time students or are needed full time at home.

Under the law, those referred to WIN can lose their welfare payments if they refuse to participate without good cause.

Apparently all this has had little effect. There are some 16,496 in the pipeline.

Just what Dr. Burns, the White House and the Council for Urban Affairs can do—including the taxpayers—is being "skulled out" now. But there's no doubt that the final policy can be summed up with "For the needy, yes; for the greedy, no."

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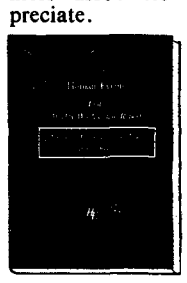

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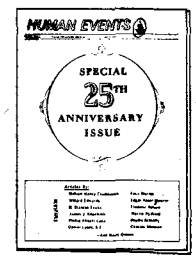

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'Dear-Sir-You-Cur' Day Is Here Again

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY

A critic, whether social, dramatic or educational, is not normally the soul of popularity, especially in the eyes of those he criticizes. Nevertheless, I've always operated under the completely arbitrary theory that it's OK for me to be a critic of others 364 days a year if I permit everybody else to use me as a target on the 365th day. Today, on my equally arbitrary calendar, is Day No. 365. So, for all you writers of "Dear-sir-you-cur" letters, here's your chance:

Q—"Who in the world appointed you superintendent of public instruction in California?—Mrs. J. W."

A—Twenty million Californians, ma'am. Twice.

Q—"You're always so peppery about youthful radicals and draft card burners. Just what is *your* son doing?—Mr. A. E."

A—He's somewhere north of Saigon, sir, trying to stay alive. He's a sergeant in Uncle Sam's Air Force.

Q—"What makes you hate progressive education so much?—Mr. L. L. A."

A—I hate anything which hurts children. Over the past 30 years I've watched progressive education produce a generation composed of entirely too many quasi-illiterates, drug addicts, sexual immoralists and just plain criminals. Certainly the vast majority of our kids don't fall into these categories, thank Heaven. Equally certainly, progressive education has failed utterly to produce what it said it was going to produce: the best educated, best adjusted, most peace-loving, law-abiding generation in America's history.

Q—"Why are you so critical of so-called pornography? It's the wave of the future.—Mr. G. H."

A—I refuse to conceive of the future, sir, as a wave of sewage.

Q—"Why didn't you stop the California college riots?—Miss O. R."

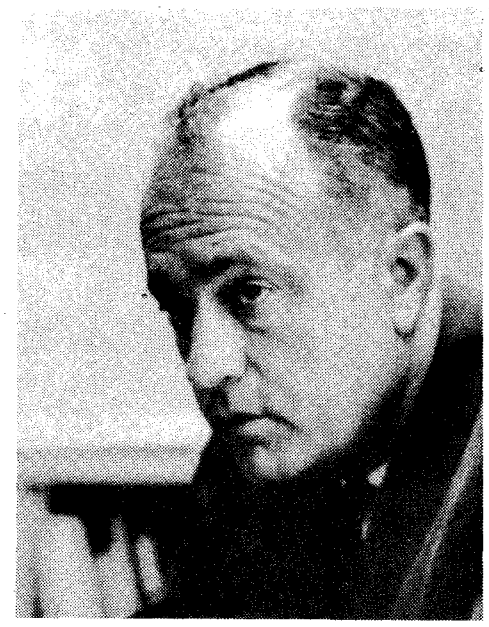
A—For the same reason I didn't stop last winter's California floods, dear lady. They come under another Authority.

Q—"Why do you call student activist demands 'non-negotiable'?—Mr. B. L."

A—I don't call them that. That's what the activists call them. The very word, incidentally, 'is highly revealing. "Non-negotiable" demands are the kind Hitler used to make. Remember?

Q—"Who are today's worst enemies of racial integration?—Mrs. K. S."

A—The "Black Power" leaders, unfortunately. In California we're pretty badly confused these days. For years a lot of us have been knocking ourselves out hiring black educators and integrating the public schools. Now we find ourselves unexpectedly confronted with strident demands from many of the "new" black leaders for separate black schools and black instructors, with Whitey completely excluded. Shades of the Ku Klux Klan! Whatever happened to the wonderful idea of America as one united people, the great melting pot of all nations, all colors and all races? Has it gone forever down the drain of history? I hope not. All of us had better hope not.



Dr. Rafferty feels that the Red launching of Sputnik I back in 1957 has sounded progressive education's demise.

Q—"What should elementary schools spend the most time on?—Mrs. D. O. K."

A—Reading. If a child can read properly, all life's doors are open to him. If he can't, most of those doors are closed, and remain locked and barred all through life.

Q—"What man has contributed most to modern American education?—Mr. M. L."

A—The inventor of Sputnik. His beeping little space basketball galvanized America into critically re-examining its whole educational setup. Almost singlehandedly, this anonymous Russian (or German) succeeded in getting us Americans to stiffen our college requirements, beef up our academic standards and reinstate homework down in the grades. I can't prove it, but I'm also convinced that the intrusion of Sputnik into American skyspace a decade ago sounded the first notes of progressive education's death knell. Maybe we should try to get the Russians to invent a similar gadget every 10 years.

Q—"Why are you educators so confoundedly mealy-mouthed?—Mrs. R. B."

A—I really don't know, madame. Perhaps it's because every time any of us try to level with John Q. Public and tell him what Mark Twain used to call the "petrified truth," we end up under fire and out of a job.

Q—"How does your wife ever put up with your sarcasm and snide remarks?—Mrs. M. E."

A—She's a masochist.

Q—"Who on earth is your photographer?—Mrs. B. T."

A—The same fellow who used to photograph the late Boris Karloff, apparently.

There, gentle reader. You've had your day. For the next 364, en garde!

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Continued from Page 8

Acheson on Anti-Pentagon Drive

If they don't, which I think likely, they will probe to see if they can find an American weakness, but we need not worry about that as long as we take care that there are no American weaknesses for them to exploit. The Russians are not children, and they are not easily frightened. They will come to the negotiating table, and they will calculate the forces as they see them, and they will do what seems most advantageous for them.

I would suggest that this is one case where we should do the same. A responsible Congress ought to obtain the best information it can from the men who are responsible for knowing the facts, and it should make a decision about ABM on the basis of a prudent defense of the United States in what continues to be a very dangerous world.

We are in a situation today, as we have often been in the past, in which the experts disagree about whether a particular policy is necessary for our security. I consider that a responsible legislator does not pretend that he is himself a technical expert, but instead obtains the best advice he can.

On the issue of the ABM, it is necessary to choose between opposing experts, and we must face up to the fact that the experts we choose just might be wrong. This means that to some extent the United States must take a chance, and the question is what would be the most prudent gamble.

Now the public debate on this question has been obscured by our national bad habits of hunting witches and of supposing that the Russians are really just like Americans in their diplomacy. I hope that I have made it clear that the current cliche about a "military-industrial complex" is irrelevant nonsense, and that in fact the Russians have a very distinctive negotiating style which we should have learned to expect by now.

Once these red herrings are removed, I find the answer to the ABM debate very clear. We are being asked to gamble with a program involving some billions spread over five years, which is not such a very large sum when the defense of the entire country is at stake.

If the experts of our government are correct, then the protection the ABM will provide for this sum of money is a bargain. But if we disregard their advice and abandon the Safeguard program, and it turns out in five years that the Administration was right, the consequences will be extremely serious, perhaps catastrophic.

On the other hand, it may be that the opposition is right and the ABM is unnecessary. If we build it anyway, would we have lost 9 billion dollars?

Not at all, for we would in the process have built up a very considerable fund of technical knowledge, knowledge which we know the Russians will have since they are going ahead with their own program. So, even in the worst case, the American effort will not have been wasted.

We live in a far more dangerous world than did our fathers and grandfathers. When we were unprepared in 1917 and in 1941, we had very strong allies and the width of the Atlantic Ocean to shield us from the consequences of our folly. This is no longer true.

To build an ABM system is a course with a possibility of great gains and only small losses. To refrain could bring a relatively small saving at best, and catastrophe at worst. I find that what wisdom I have indicates that once the red herrings and cliches are abandoned, a prudent Congress will follow the advice of the President and his advisors.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Dr. Knowles' Remarks

By REP. JOHN HUNT (R.-N.J.)

For several weeks a controversy has been raging over a well-known doctor from Boston, John H. Knowles. I note that Dr. Knowles is now using the news media to further expound his beliefs. I do not doubt that Dr. Knowles is a good physician, but I do question his knowledge insofar as politics is concerned. He now makes an undignified attack upon President Nixon, and I am constrained at this time to say that I am now sure President Nixon was correct when he rejected Dr. Knowles, because Knowles looks like a fence sitter to me. He is even an expert on Viet Nam now; in fact, he is an expert on everything. I suggest he join Mr. Nader and Lauren Bacall, because with the three of them together we will not need a Congress or a President—they would effectively run the Nation at their own whim without regard for ethics or virtue.

ABM Deterrent Value

By REP. BILL STUCKEY (D.-Ga.)

It is a known fact that the Soviets have already begun to install their own ABM system. The deployment of such a system for the defense of the USSR might very well impair the effectiveness of the United States strategic deterrent. It might so affect the balance of strategic forces as to enable the Soviet Union to pursue more arrogant policies and include the potential for nuclear "blackmail." Maintaining a strong deterrent must continue to have first claim upon the resources we allocate to national defense, and this also means a strategic defensive *capacity insofar as it is considered necessary to deterrence. As a guarantee against the failure of deterrence, the ABM might determine the issue of national survival. What it means to be weak and without strong protection should be evident to all as we witness the tragic drama of Czechoslovakia's struggle with Russia over the continued subjugation of her people. To deploy the ABM would no doubt be costly. Not to deploy it could prove more costly.*

Surtax Fears Confirmed

By REP. J. HERBERT BURKE (R.-Fla.)

It is my opinion that the majority of the American people accept their responsibility to pay taxes because they recognize the fact that taxes are necessary. Most of them do not complain too strongly as long as they are convinced that they are being fairly treated by those in government who are asked to give them a fair shake.

In the case of the surtax, however, it is difficult to convince the American taxpayer today that he is being treated fairly.

All the things that the taxpayers were told last year concerning the tax has proven to be false. The taxpayers were told then that the surtax was an emergency tax and was only a temporary one needed to halt the inflationary spiral that was wiping out the savings and salaries of the average American retiree and wage earner. We were further told that the tax would be followed by massive federal cuts in spending. Today federal spending goes higher and higher and we are now reaping the whirlwinds of such recklessness. Yet, I find far too few who are inclined to recognize the need now to establish priorities and to cut future spending for giveaway programs both at home and abroad.

With the feeling and realization now that the tax is real and talks about federal cuts are phony, is there then any wonder that the American taxpayer is fed up and opposed to the continuation of the surtax now? It's about time that the Congress make some attempt to restore public confidence in our ability to manage the problems of inflation, high interest rates, and our stumbling economy. The continuation of the surtax is not the answer.

House Votes JFK Center Funds, 210-162

Following is the 210-to-162 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on July 8 voted to sock the taxpayers for $12.5 million to complete work on the half-finished Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 158

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Calif.), Anderson (Tenn.), Annunzio, Ashley, Bennett, Biaggi, Bingham, Blatnik, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Chisholm, Clark, Cohelan, Conyers, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Dawson, de la Garza, Dent, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell, Feighan, Flood, Foley, Ford, William, Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Galifianakis, Gallagher, Garmatz, Gaydos, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hays, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Howard, Hungate, Jacobs, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Karth, Kastenmeier, Kee, Kluczynski, Koch, Kyros, Leggett, Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Melcher, Mikva, Miller (Calif.), Mills, Minish, Mink, Mollohan, Moorhead, Morgan, Moss, Murphy (Ill.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara, Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Preyer (N. C.), Price (Ill.), Pryor (Ark.), Rees, Reuss, Rivers, Roberts, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Rogers (Fla.), Ronan, Rooney (N. Y.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Shipley, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stokes, Stratton, Symington, Teague (Tex.), Thompson (N. J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waldie, Watts, White, Wright, Yates, Yatron, Young, Zablocki, Mize, Morse, Nelsen, Pelly, Pirnie, Quie, Railsback, Reid (N. Y.), Reifel, Rhodes, Riegle, Robison, Ruppe, Sandman, Schwengel, Smith (N. Y.), Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Teague (Calif.), Thomson (Wis.), Whalen, Williams, Montgomery, Nichols, Obey, Passman, Poage, Randall, Rarick, Satterfield, Stephens, Stubblefield, Stuckey, Taylor, Waggonner, Whitten, Wilson, Charles, Horton, Hosmer, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, King, Kleppe, Kuykendall, Kyl, Landgrebe, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, Lloyd, Lukens, McClure, McCulloch, Martin, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Mizell, Myers, Pettis, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quillen, Roth, Roudebush, Ruth, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Scott, Sebelius, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Snyder, Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Talcott, Thompson (Ga.), Utt, Vander Jagt, Wampler, Watson, Weicker, Whalley, Whitehurst, Widnall, Wiggins, Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wold, Wyatt, Wydler, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

REPUBLICANS FOR: 52

Adair, Arends, Ayres, Biester, Broomfield, Brotzman, Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (Va.), Burton (Utah), Button, Clausen, Don, Conte, Coughlin, Cramer, Esch, Findley, Ford, Gerald, Fulton (Pa.), Grover, Halpern, Harvey, Keith, McClory, McCloskey, McDade, McEwen, McKneally, MacGregor, Mathias, Marsh

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 54

Abbitt, Abernethy, Alexander, Andrews (Ala.), Bevill, Blanton, Brinkley, Burleson (Tex.), Burlison (Mo.), Cabell, Caffery, Casey, Chappell, Colmer, Daniel (Va.), Davis (Ga.), Downing, Edwards (La.), Fisher, Flowers, Flynt, Fountain, Fuqua, Gettys, Griffin, Hagan, Haley, Hanna, Hebert, Henderson, Hull, Ichord, Jones (N. C.), Jones (Tenn.), Kazen, Landrum, Lennon, McMillan

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 108

Ashbrook, Beall (Md.), Belcher, Bell (Calif.), Betts, Blackburn, Bray, Brown (Mich.), Broyhill (N. C.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Camp, Carter, Cederberg, Clancy, Clawson, Del, Collins, Conable, Corbett, Cowger, Cunningham, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Denney, Dennis, Devine, Dickinson, Duncan, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Eshleman, Fish, Foreman, Frey, Goodling, Gross, Gubser, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harsha, Hastings, Hogan

NOT VOTING: 60

East-West Trade Pitfalls

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

The Nixon Administration has resoundingly endorsed the extension of tight controls on East-West Trade. In recent testimony, representatives of the U.S. State Department, reversing the trend of the Department's thinking over the past few years, argued for the reenactment of the 20-year-old Export Control Act, which expired last month.

The advocates of trading with Communists had hoped that the Export Control Act would die. Yet the Administration obviously feels that this is a poor time to think of stepping up our trade relationship with the Communist countries.

At this point in history, the Soviets are engaged in far-ranging adventures to increase their power and influence.

- The President has said that the Soviets are supplying 85 per cent of the armament for North Viet Nam.
- Soviet involvement in Mid-East turbulence is at an all time high, with millions of dollars in Soviet armament and technical assistance fueling the fire in that troubled region.
- The Soviets have completed a series of steps to enforce their rule over Czechoslovakia, and continue to threaten West Germany and Western Europe.

Meanwhile, the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union are characterized by more and more repression of Soviet citizens. Evidence is mounting concerning the resurgence of Stalinist attitudes. An American journalist, recently expelled because of reporting such oppression honestly, says that discontent and rebellion are spreading widely througout the educated classes.

Unfortunately, many of our leaders have ignored these danger signals and have sought to increase East-West trade. Since 1962, American exports to the Soviet Bloc have increased 56 per cent. Even under the Export Control Act, many licenses were formerly issued for the export of items of military significance. Sen. Dirksen has recently pointed out that we have authorized the shipment of such items as rifle-cleaning compounds, propellers, industrial chemicals, crude rubber, aluminum and magnesium scrap—all at the same time U.S. boys were facing Soviet guns, tanks and trucks in Viet Nam.

But even when military significance is set aside, we are still faced with the problem that trade for profit bolsters the economy of socialist nations, without striking a blow for peace. Trade can never be taken as a sure sign of peaceful intentions. The Japanese traded with us right up to Pearl Harbor, and the Czechoslovak economy was practically intertwined with the economy of the Soviet Union.

Nations which are dominated by central planning boards are rigid and inflexible when it comes to the development of new technology. On the other hand, a free economy is much more conducive to the development of new products and processes. The Soviets and their satellites need the assistance of free-world creativity. They want to be able to buy what they can't develop on their own.

We must not delude ourselves that the Soviets will seek to expand trade in such items as consumer goods, where we have a broad base. They will be seeking items only in categories where they have an acute shortage, or a deficiency in technology. Whereas we would be seeking trade across the board, they would be seeking only to acquire the fruits of American management skills and creative techniques.

The Nixon Administration's request for the extension of the Export Control Act is a sign that a new sense of realism is coming to American foreign policy. Trade should be used as a weapon to advance American interests, and should be tried to concrete political proposals.

If the Soviets really want trade, then the Export Control Act provides one tool to gauge the amount and kind of East-West commerce. Furthermore, we can use such trade as a bargaining device to assure Soviet cooperation in cooling international tensions. That kind of trade might begain to show an honest profit.

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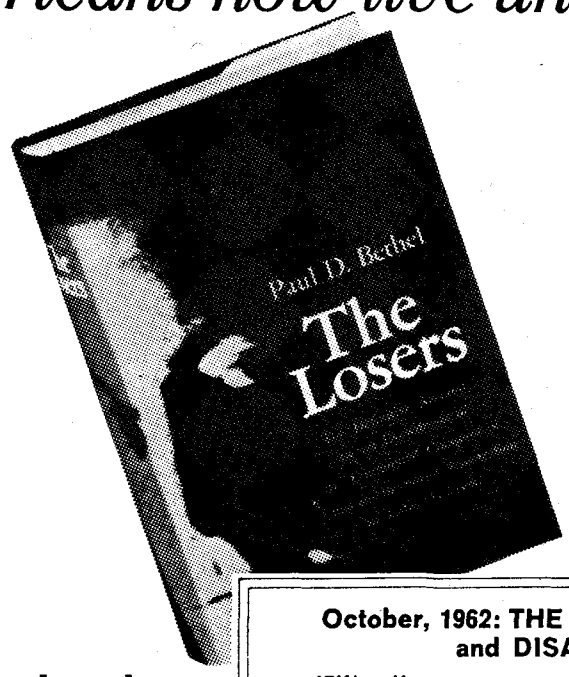

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